DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 337 267 PS 019 838

AUTHOR Kalliopuska, Mirja, Ed.
TITLE Children and Family Structures: Child and Different Relationships of Recent Family Types. Proceedings from the Fenno Hungarian Conference on Recent Family Types (Lahti, Finland, July 5-7, 1989).
INSTITUTION Helsinki Univ., Lahti (Finland). Lahti Research and Training Centre.
REPORT NO ISBN-951-45-5741-7
PUB DATE 89
NOTE 260p.
AVAILABLE FROM Helsinki University, Lahti Research and Training Centre, Kirkkokatu 16, SF-15140 Lahti, Finland ($30.00, plus shipping).
PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Adolescents; Athletics; *Child Development; Children; Elementary Secondary Education; *Family Environment; Family Influence; *Family Structure; Foreign Countries; Language Acquisition; *Parent Attitudes; *Parent Child Relationship; Preschool Education; Role Models; Social Adjustment
IDENTIFIERS *Finland; *Hungary

ABSTRACT

This publication reports the proceedings of the Fenno-Hungarian Conference on Recent Family Types, which was held in Lahti, Finland, in July, 1989. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the effect of changing social conditions on the family, family types, and home education in Hungary and Finland. A series of papers was presented. Topics addressed included: (1) parental models in the life of secondary students; (2) family cohesion and adaptability; (3) relationships between parents and children; (4) development of language skills; (5) family structure; (6) the effect of social status on role behavior in families; (7) children and families engaged in sports; (8) the family as an institution of socialization; (9) the effect of family variables on the mental development of prematurely born children; (10) social participation among elderly adults; (11) adolescents' views about the family; (12) research on pregnancy, childbirth, and the mother's experiences after giving birth; and (13) role conflicts in professional families. Most of the papers are reports of research results, and many include reference lists. (BC)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☒ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

CHILDREN AND FAMILY STRUCTURES

CHILD AND DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS OF RECENT FAMILY TYPES

PS 019338

Mirja Kalliopuska (ed.)
University of Helsinki
Lahti Research and Training Centre

Lahti, Finland 1989

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Mirja Kalliopuska

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)"

2 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHILDREN AND FAMILY STRUCTURES

CHILD AND DIFFERENT RELATIONSHIPS OF RECENT FAMILY TYPES

Proceedings from the Fenno-Hungarian Conference
on Recent Family Types

Mirja Kalliopuska (ed.)

July 5 - 7, 1989

Lahti, Finland

Published by
University of Helsinki
Lahti Research and Training Centre

Proceedings available from:

University of Helsinki
Lahti Research and Training Centre
Kirkkokatu 16, SF-15140 Lahti, Finland

ISBN 951-45-5741-7
Helsinki 1991

PREFACE

Under the shadow of the old oaks in Mukkula Manor there was built up our common conference - NYKYPERHEEN LAPSET - A MAI CSALAD GYERMEEKEI - CHILD AND DIFFERENT STRUCTURES AND INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS OF RECENT FAMILY TYPES.

The purpose was to discuss the changing conditions on socialization on family concept, on modern family types, and on home education in Hungary and in Finland. Changing parent´s role and relationships between the child and the parent, especially mother-child interaction, father-child -interaction were also under discussion and idea exchange. Everyday life of families with small children in modern society, and role conflicts of the family were dealt with adjustment and cohesion. Social participation among school children, adolescents, and elderly persons were proposed for discussion. On the basis of three studies we became familiar with parents´ education and family therapy, as well as got acquainted with family education for school students.

This conference was the first cooperation step in the family theme, but also the first effort in the psychology domain was between Hungary and Finland. The interdiciplinary nature of the conference portrays extensively psychological, sociological, and educational aspects of the family life.

The Finnish Ministry of Education and Hungarian Academy of Sciences have had bilateral exchange research system. In addition to these contacts Eötvös Lorand University in Budapest and the Helsinki University have agreed upon the bilateral science exchange. According to these agreements our cooperative effort about family life will continue next time in Budapest.

CONTENTS

FAMILY ORIENTATION AND PARENTAL MODELS IN THE LIFE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS
Ferenc Pataki..... 7

FAMILY COHESION AND ADAPTABILITY
Mirja Kalliopuska..... 15

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE CHILD - SECONDARY EXPERIENCES OF THE EXAMINATION OF PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS
Jeno Ranschburg..... 42

THE COMPLEMENTARY ROLES OF PARENT-INFANT INTERACTIONS AND THE VERBAL SKILLS OF PRESCHOOLERS OF BROKEN FAMILIES
Julia Sugar Kadar..... 50

EARLY MOTHER-CHILD COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE
Pirkko Nieminen..... 68

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND FAMILY LIFE OF FINNISH WOMEN
Elina Haavio-Mannila..... 74

EXPERIENCE WITH THE HOME INVENTORY FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN HUNGARY: FAMILY BACKGROUND, SCHOOL ADAPTATION AND ACHIEVEMENT
Katalin Donga.....105

INTERACTION BETWEEN PARENTS AND PRESCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN
Helena Rasku-Puttonen.....112

DIFFERENCES OF ROLE BEHAVIOUR IN FAMILIES BELONGING TO DIFFERENT SOCIAL STRATA
Katalin Felvinzci.....122

CHILDREN AND FAMILIES ENGAGED IN SPORTS
Marjatta Vanhalakka-Ruoho.....130

THE FAMILY AS A SOCIALIZATION INSTITUTION IN MODERN SOCIETY
Anja Riitta Lahikainen.....146

PARENT SCHOOL - THE RIGHT OF EVERY PARENT
Helena Miller and Toivo Rönkä.....158

EFFECTS OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND OTHER FAMILY VARIABLES ON THE MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF PREMATURELY BORN CHILDREN
Magda Kalmar and Judit Boronkai.....165

A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND LIFE-STYLE
Pertti Pohjolainen.....187

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEMPERAMENT AND HOME ENVIRONMENT INDICES AND THE SOCIOMETRIC STATUS OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN
Marta I. György.....197

ADOLESCENT'S VIEW ABOUT FAMILY AND FAMILY EDUCATION
Sirkka Karjalainen.....205

EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE IN THE FINNISH KINDERGARTEN
Anna-Kaisa Ylönen.....213

THE BEST TIME OF THE THREE-MONTH-OLDS' DAY: DEVELOPMENTAL AND PREDICTIVE ASPECTS OF THE BATHING SESSIONS OF FOUR HUNDRED BABIES IN BUDAPEST
Istvan Horvath.....217

REPORT ON A RESEARCH ON PREGNANCY, BIRTH AND FOLLOWING BIRTH EXPERIENCES (WHY TO CHOOSE AN OBSTETRICIAN?)
Antal Z. Laszlo.....231

ROLE CONFLICTS IN PROFESSIONAL FAMILIES
Zsuzsa Gerö.....241

Ferenc Pataki
Institute for Psychology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

FAMILY ORIENTATION AND PARENTAL MODELS IN THE LIFE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS

The psychological and sociological research of the way of life of young people - including students - can rely on significant antecedents in Hungary, From about the mid-sixties up to now widespread researches have been carried out on the way of life and on the changes of the way of life of the different groups of young people. I have had the chance to inform the Finnish colleagues about the results and the most significant conclusions of these researches during a joint conference organized earlier (Pataki, 1983).

Partly as a continuation of the previous researches but partly on the basis of raising new questions a new comparative research has been carried out in recent years on the way of life of the different groups of secondary school students living in the capital (grammar school students, vocational secondary school students, industrial apprentices). Now I would only like to emphasize two characteristics of this research. Firstly, much greater attention has been paid than in earlier researches to the social psychological factors that play a so to say mediatory role between the external objective factors of the way of life and the everyday way of life realized by the subject, i. e. treatment of time, sense of autonomy, self-concept and identity, preferences and aspirations, evaluation schemes. Secondly, we.were greatly concerned about the questions of what patterns (way of life models) are there to be discovered in the groups examined in the fastly changing financial-economic and socio-cultural conditions and how the patterns are transmitted from the parental generation to the young people.

Because of this in the case of grammar school students the investigation was extended to parents as well, in order to be able to compare the identities and differences in the way of life of the two generations and above all the model giving role of parents.

This time, naturally, there is no way to present all dimensions and data of the investigation. I will summarize only a few connections between the family orientation of young people and the influence and model giving role of parents.

It has been unanimously proven by all investigations on the way of life up to now that well palpable regularities, repetitions - in short; patterns - are there to be discovered in the everyday life of the individual and the different smaller-bigger social groups. These typical patterns are called the way of life model. A pattern is partly the consequence of external forces and fundamentals in relation to the individual (position in the social structure, economic status, local and ethnical identification, family relations etc.t and partly is the product of determined beliefs and "ideological" images. There are characteristic views in every social group on how to live and how one is expected to behave. These images are carried by normative and value conceptions, beliefs, tradition systems, customs and fashion. But the means of modern mass-media are also pouring out models in large

numbers, models that are becoming more and more global, that are becoming internationalized and that are forming an integral part of juvenile subculture.

The way of life model always has an empirical experimental reality: the system of regularities how the individuals and the groups of society actually realize the reproduction of their everyday lives. But for the individual the model does necessarily have a normative aspect - or at least an "imperative characteristic". In the different stages of socialization the way of life models valid and legitimate at the time become the objects of selective model adoption and imitation intermediated by social learning, personal identification. A bit simplified we could say that the way of life model is nothing but the organic unity of a characteristic, typical, hierarchically organized structure of activities and that of the confirming and maintaining, legitimating beliefs, values, "ideologies" of it, though reflected at entirely different levels of consciousness individually. Well, one of the main aims of the investigation we have conducted was to find the valid characteristics of the way of life models in the lives of secondary school students.

Family relations in todays Hungarian society could be described by extremely fast and violent changes that deeply touch the socializing and orientating functions of the family. Two of these are worth to be stressed. During the past decade the signs of family instability have increasingly grown. Today in Hungary more than 40 divorces fall on a 100 marriages. In parallel to this the demographical tendencies are increasingly disquieting; the birth rate has fallen deeper than it has ever been. As a consequence of this the typical family is represented by a nuclear family having 1-2 children, and very frequently with a single parent or a remarried parent.This situation that has been described by one of the best humorists of the beginning of the century as "my child and your child are beating our child" is quite characteristic.

On the basis of the developments indicated here only in passing the "crisis of the family", the disintegration of family relations and the disadvantageous position of children in the family are frequently mentioned both in scientific and publicistic literature. But the picture - as usual - is more shaded and complex. In today's Hungarian society a family disorganizational process explainable by many reasons simultaneously exists with a not less stronger neofamiliarizational wave. Moreover, the signs of deep crisis of the present status of society, the anxiety, raising risks of the present situation are exactly strengthening the private sphere and the security and protection giving effect of the family in it. As we shall see our data are quite accurately picturing the contradicting tendencies mentioned.

One other important fact has to be mentioned in advance. During the past 25 - 30 years the circle of participants in school education has increased by leaps and bounds. Today around 93% of the 14 - 18 years old age group takes part in secondary schooling: youth practically became students, living a student way of life and as a consequence of the extensive development students and living in the terms of a standardized mass education that is not much able to vindicate qualitative aspects. It has to. be added right away though that the sociological characteristics of the three directions of secondary education - grammar school, vocational secondary school, and the education of industrial apprentices - are basically different. It is the

grammar school that leads straightest. to higher education.

As a result this type of school is mainly the school of the intellectuals and the middle class. Girls are, predominating - mainly in the countryside - in grammar schools. Nearly one-fourth of secondary school students are attending grammar schools. The vocational secondary school is more practical and is more attractive to parents who are either qualified skilled workers or who wish their children to earn an independent income as early on as possible. The institutions for vocational apprentices are receiving the least successful students; the majority of parents being underqualified or unqualified workers, agricultural workers. Thus the theory that the comparative analysis of the way of life of these three student groups will indicate typical identities and differences was natural. We were presuming without doubt the existence of identities in the student way of life and in juvenile subculture on the basis of homogenizing tendencies. The differences were an inevitable outcome of the nature of the different types of schools and that of the different socio-economic and cultural-family relations of students.

1. The Structure of Activities

If the heart of the way of life model is based on the everyday structure of activities, this had to be studied at first during our research. Therefore a time balance was made of an average workday and two weekend leisure days; a list containing a choice of 35 concrete activities has been offered to the persons tested for judging the frequency of these activities on a one to seven scale(never-everyday). They were made to choose and to grade the five most preferred activities from the list. Now let´s dwell on the most significant data - the judgment of the frequency of activities!

Two facts became evident when analysing the data. Firstly, the number of activities of relative frequency reaching at least four on the scale (repeated several times a month) was rather limited, though no normative criteria are at our disposal. Secondly, what struck us even more was that in all student groups a strange "homebound" block of activities neared the everyday; frequency, namely watching TV, listening the radio, tapes, the reading of literature., newspapers, magazines, talks in the family and household. Because of its nature only studying reached this frequency.

The elements of this "homebound" block of activities are either fulfilling recreational and amusement functions or are attached to participation in the everyday life of the family. The active, creative less stereotype activities are strikingly missing. These data indicate though the strong family integration of students. In the different groups of students the homebound activities are attached to specific preferences.

Table 1. Homebound activities

Grammar School Students		Vocational Secondary School Students		Industrial Apprentices	
Studying	6,73	Studying	6,65	Studying	6,02
Learning languages	5,61	Hobbies	5,02	Walking	5,23
Reference reading	4,68	Walking	4,79	Reference reading	4,74
Hobbies	4,58	Active sports	4,40	Hobbies	4,31
Walking	4,39	Reference reading	4,33		
	^	^		^	
	|	|		|	

Homebound block of activities

It is the grammar school students who are most characterized by the greater frequency of intellectual and certain "quality" forms of activities (playing music, attending concerts, going to the theatre and museums). The vocational school students are more practically oriented, they do more gardening, carpeting, are more active in sports, they have more hobbies. This is in conformity with both the more practical character of the school, the predominance of boys in these types of schools and the sociological characteristics of the families. At first sight it is surprising that industrial apprentices are most frequently engaged in the greatest number of activities but they are the most desintellectual. It is them who go to the cinema most often, who visit restaurants, pubs and discos most frequently. They read literature the least often, they less frequently participate in family talks, the are less occupied with studying and self education. This group of students seems to be the most "unappropriated" and the most distances from the family.

The quality of their activities is not very high either. Their life style is characterized by a strange drifting: they are more likely to give in to chances and allurements than to regulate their activities according to conscious preferences.

By nature the activities of students are more multifold than that of their parents. It becomes apparent however that family talks take place most often in the circle of grammar school students and their parents. The parents of grammar school students are also characterized by the spheres of activities referred to earlier as "qualitatively": going to the theatre, visiting museums, playing music, attending concerts, reading literature. Thus it is presumable that fastidious activities in the

life style of grammar school students are characteristically more frequent on the basis of family socialization, parental models and incentives.

2. The interpersonal frames

During the research on the patterns of the way of life we considered the analysis of the interpersonal relations of the activities, the interpersonal frames to be a very important factor. As a result of this when determining the frequency of activities we also requested a reply on in whose company the activity is usually being done. The replies received are characteristically becoming more dense. The members of all students groups - though in slightly differing ratio - are doing theirs activities in three typical interpersonal situations: alone, in the family or among friends. The most important personages of interpersonal relations are occurring in the following percentages:

Table 2. Interpersonal relations

	Grammar School	Vocational School Students	Industrial Apprentices
Alone	34 .83	31.15	28.75
Friend	33.51	36.75	36.00
Family, relative	19.26	22.74	19.25
Partner	3.69	2.80	9.75
Group, class	4.75	1.25	3.75

The high ratio of solitary activities is by nature characteristic of young students. Industrial apprentices are the least inclined to solitary activities, partner relations are also playing the biggest role in their lives. Their financial independence is bigger(they receive a salary!) and the low worth of studying experienced in their circle makes this well interpreted. It also corresponds with the data of international research that the most important interpersonal world of students is that of groups of friends - in our case mainly informal groupings. Besides this family frames are also important drawing forces. It is typical that students name one of their parents as the person closest to them, with whom they can be most confidential. Parents of grammar school students are characterised by a more significant factor of "being closed": only 11 % of their activities take place among a circle of friends and acquaintances, while 61.5% is bedded into family-relative frames.

This strong family orientation also appears in the interpersonal characteristics of the activities of students, though it is much less expressed than in the grown up generations.

3. The Model-Persons

Naturally the actors appearing in the interpersonal field are not in the least identical measure serving as models for the students tested. Model-persons are considered to be members of the interpersonal field who serve as objects of identification, models of imitation, reference persons in general orientation, influencing in decision-making of students in the activities referred to earlier and in other spheres of life. The persons tested have been asked about how and since when their plans and definite ideas in the four important spheres of life (work, family life, material circumstances, social prestige) have been formed. How sure they are in hoping the realisation of their plans and ideas. Then finally out of the factors listed (parents, teachers, friends, means of mass media, books)how big an influence each had in forming their ideas. The students evaluated also on a one-to-seven scale(strongly negative -strongly positive) the relative importance of the above factors in making their decisions.

It can not be read from the data whether the model persons made a direct, live-model impact on the people tested or whether they only served as a source of information for them. However, it would only be proper to suppose that in the influence perceived the following are intertwined in a specific way: direct model giving, information giving process (especially in the case of mass media, though personal influence cannot be entirely excluded here either) and the emotional-identificational process.

Speaking of results our most conspicuous observation is that the dependence on models is low in all groups of students. Only the ideas related to social prestige did get an added value of at least five on the scale (slightly positive!). All the of her values remain in the "indifferent - slightly positive" area. Model giving in the world of work does only faintly exceed the "slightly negative" (3,35) value. In this aspect the data are giving evidence on the inadequate orientating role of the personal surroundings - including family and school. It is as if the students looked at the members of their personal surroundings as "counter models" rather than to consider them as positive influencing factors in their decision and ideas. This fact shows a generation gap and at the same time an increasingly critical relation to their personal surroundings. Probably it is not surprising that this inclination is strongest in their ideas about work and family: it is here that the students consider the least worth to follow the experiences, examples of their surroundings. They evaluate the influence of models by positive terminologies mainly in the slightly abstract category of social prestige: it seems that in this aspect they are more in need of an external model.

Naturally a much more shaded picture is drawn if we examine each sphere of life separately and the differences of school types and sexes.

Yet here we must be content with mentioning a few tendencies only. The conceptions of family life in the case of boys are more influenced by books, the means of mass media and friends, parents are the last in the list, while girls are more "familiarized", the influence of parents gets the second highest mark. In reference to material circumstances the influence of parents, teachers and books gets the highest marks. As a contrary to this ideas about social prestige are most influenced by means of mass media, books and friends. In the domain of works boys give preference to the influence of teachers, books and parents, while girls give the highest marks to means of mass media, teachers and books.

4. The Sense of Autonomy

One of the important psychological dimensions of the way of life is the status of the sense of autonomy of the individual. The essence of this is how autonomous, free the individual feels himself as regards to being dependent and exposed in the realization of his plans and aims. In order to be able to investigate this manifestation we asked the students to evaluate the probability of the realization of the above aspirations (on a one-to-hundred "thermometer scale"). They have also been asked to indicate to what extent the realization depends on their personal efforts as regards to external factors, independent from them.

As expected the basic tendency of the ratings mirrored the shutting out of polarized attitudes (complete certainty as regards to total improbability), though there were limited examples of both.

However, the ratio of highly probable ratings was strikingly big, it made up to 60 - 70 % of the replies (between 60 - 90 degrees on the probability scale). What made this data even more surprising was that it decidedly differed from the results of another question, where general prospects of the future had to be judged. While opinions about the future in general tended to be more pessimistic, the judgment of the realization of individual aims showed a more confident and optimistic picture. It has to be noted that the parents of grammar school students and the children themselves sharply differed in this case; the parents had a much more resignated and fatalistic view of the realization of their plans.

The industrial apprentices acted in a characteristic way as well. They gave the most polarized replies. It was among them that we have found the most extremely submissive, hopeless views as regards to the individuals entertaining unfoundedly high confidences. This group - as usual - is determinedly differing in this case as well from the groups of students attending the other two types of secondary schools. Their basic characteristic being that though they are also young and students, yet practical and professional activity plays the main role in their lives, always putting its stamp on their manifestations.

For the interpretation of the judgment of differences between the general image of future and individual plans and aims the category of self-involvement has to be introduced. As a matter of fact the general question about concepts of the future is

"impersonal". It touches the relation of the self and an abstract image of the future but does not threaten directly the positive evaluation of the self. Moreover if a rather pessimistic and perspectiveless public sentiment is prevailing in the surrounding society - as in Hungarian society today - the individual becomes inclined to adjust his judgments to this.

Nevertheless the setting of objectives, intentions and aims is a deeply personal thing, always attached to the concrete subject, "my objective", "my aims" are at stake. So it is understandable that the judgment of its probability touches self-evaluation directly. Because of this a probability increasing effect is unavoidably in work here and this can be discovered in the above data.

We consider on the basis of our data that grammar school students and vocational secondary school students seem to he overestimating, the reachable, realistic dimensions of their autonomy. Though this could be considered a favourable fact it could also be an evidence of the weakness of preparation for realistic life. An irrealistically perceived sense of autonomy could become the source of serious conflicts and disappointments later. As a contrary the parents of grammar school students seem to overestimate the external limits of their autonomy, the measure of their dependence and defenselessness - probably in a self-acquittal way. In this respect a sharp difference can be noted between parents and their children being a characteristic manifestation of the generation gap. The younger generation takes less note of the slightly fatalistic views of the parents and considers the limits of its possibilities more open.

As a summary I would like to repeat that I have been only able to touch a few aspects on the way of life research described at the beginning of my speech. But probably these are sufficient to throw some light on the complex and contradictory processes that are going on in the way of life of Hungarian students nowadays - especially in their family integration and family orientation.

REFERENCES:

Pataki, F. (1983) The way of life of young people. Reports from the Department of Psychology. University of Jyväskylä,No. 254. Pp.131-149.

Mirja Kalliopuska
Department of Psychology,
University of Helsinki

FAMILY COHESION AND ADAPTABILITY

STUDY PURPOSES

The psychological research project on Finnish family dynamics (Bondestam, Kalliopuska and Salminen 1982) was initiated by the practical need of the field. Mental health work had at its disposal no easy and quick method for judging a family´s situation and planning adequate treatment.

I. The main psychological purpose of this project is to estimate the adaptability of the FACES I test (Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales) in investigating family dynamics of Finnish families. This aim is threefold:

1) We want to study how adequately the FACES I test works among so called normal persons.

2) On the other hand, we are interested in examining the family adaptability and cohesion of patients with mental disturbances and families with chronic illness of the child.

3) We try to collect data and establish norms for families with the Finnish FACES I version, and to study the appropriateness for the circumplex model in portraying the organization and dynamics of Finnish family.

CIRCUMPLEX MODEL OF FAMILY SYSTEMS

Olson Sprenkle and Russell (1978,1979) have developed a circumplex model of marital and family systems. They distinguished two dimensions in family organization: family cohesion and family adaptability.

Family cohesion has two components: the emotional binding between the family members and the degree of individual autonomy. Family cohesion is defines as: "The emotional bonding which members have toward one another and the individual autonomy that a person has in the family system". At the extreme of high family cohesion, there is an over-identification with the family which results in extreme bonding and limited individual autonomy. The low extreme is characterized by low bonding and high autonomy from the family. It is hypothesised that a balanced degree of family cohesion is the most conducive to effective family functioning and to facilitating individual development. This dimension is evaluated by such variables as independence, boundaries, coalitions, space, friends, decision making, and the degree of individual autonomy (Figure 1).

The family adaptability dimension defines the family´s attempts to change and attempts to remain the same. Family adaptability is defines as: "The ability of marital/family system to change its power structure, role relationships, and relationships rules in response to situational and developmental stress". The assumption is that an adaptive system requires a balance between change and stability.The variables measuring this dimension are the family´s internal power structure, negotiation techniques, role relations, rules, and system feedback. These two dimensions were divided into four levels and united to circumplex model of 16 classes. Thus,16 family organization types were obtained for depicting family dynamics (Figure 2).

Circumplex model illustrates the two dimensions and the four levels of each dimension. The four levels of **cohesion** were named (from low to high) - **disengaged, separated, connected, enmeshed.** The four levels of **adaptability** were called (from low to high) - **rigid,**

structured, flexible, chaotic. In selecting the adjectives for each level, the authors avoided the traditional diagnostic labels. Olson et al. (1979,1983) have assumed that it is possible to identify conceptually, measure empirically, and observe clinically all these 16 types. According to their supposition some of the types would occur more frequently than others. As with any circumplex model, the more central types are the most common, but it is hypothesised that couples and families having problems would fall more into the extreme types. Once the types were evaluated and located within the model, we notice that there were three basic groups of types. One group had scores at the two central levels on both dimensions (four balanced types); another group was extreme on both dimensions (four extreme types); and the third group was extreme only on one dimension (eight mid-range types) (Figure 3).

Olson et al. (1983) have constructed following hypotheses derived from the circumplex model:

1. Couples/families with balanced cohesion and adaptability (two central levels) will generally function more adequately across the family life cycle than those at the extremes of these dimensions.
2. Balanced family types have a larger behavioural repertoire and are more able to change compared with extreme family types.
3. If the normative expectations of a couple or family support behaviours extreme on one or both of the circumplex dimensions, they will function well as long as all family members accept these expectations.
4. Couples/families will function most adequately if there is a high level of congruence between the perceived and ideal descriptions for all family members.
5. Balanced couples/families will tend to have more positive communication skills than extreme families.

6. Positive communication skills will enable balanced couples/families to change their levels of cohesion and adaptability more easily than those at the extremes.

Positive communication skills include the following: sending clear and congruent messages, empathy, supportive statements, and effective problem-solving skills. Conversely, negative communication skills include the following: sending incongruent and disqualifying messages, lack of empathy, nonsupportive negative statements, poor problem-solving skills, and double-binding messages. Family communication serves as a facilitating dimension related to the circumplex model because it facilitates movement on the two dimensions.

7. To deal with situational stress and developmental changes across the family life cycle, balanced families will change their cohesion and adaptability, whereas extreme families will resist change over time.

FACES I

The FACES I was developed partly as a clinical aid for the circumplex model and partly for the scientific study of the model. This model was developed as a guide for assessment of marital and family systems and for setting treatment goals for a couple or family. An assessment enables a person to top classify a couple or family into one of sixteen possible types within the circumplex model. Each of the two dimensions is broken down into four levels, and this results into sixteen (4x4) types. In the FACES there are 111 items. 96 items measure cohesion (54) and adaptability (42), in addition 15 statements originate in the Edward´s Social Desirability Scale. The statements are answered on a four-step scale according to how accurate the item is for the person´s view of his family situation. The FACES I consists of 111 items that

appear to have a degree of clinical and empirical validity. The clinical validity was demonstrated by the fact that 35 counsellors had a high level of agreement in that the item fell at either a high, moderate, or low level for each subscale (4 -step rating scale). Similarly, the statements were presented to 410 students who answered according to how accurate the statements were for their family situation (4-step scale). Students´ answers were factoranalysed and interpreted after Varimax orthogonal rotation.

Weight scores (1-3) for the statements were obtained by counsellors´ and students´ evaluations. By weight scores the original score of each answer was multiplied to determine the final scores. The empirical or construct validity was demonstrated by the fact that the items had high factor loadings on different factors which were related to the three levels of the dimensions - high, moderate, and low (Olson et al. 1978).

Portner and Bell have studied 201 families, including 603 family members on the basis of the FACES I. The reliability of internal consistency was determined on both dimensions by the Cronbach alpha (on cohesion dimension .83 and on adaptability dimension .83). The reliability values were high. The split-half reliabilities determined for each subscale were quite low, in part due to the small number of statements and in part due to the internal variation among them. The authors suggested that the use of total scores should be used in clinical and research work. The subscales may have face validity which could be of use in clinical work.

According to my opinion the subscales are as useful as total scores for adaptation and cohesion because subscales are constructed with items measuring different intensity levels of adaptability and cohesion. Only

few items are not suitable for calculating split-half reliabilities. In any case the test has clinical validity and also empirical validity, because the factor analysis of students´ answers extracted factors parallel to various levels of scales.

The cohesion scale correlates with the social desirability score r = .45 and the adaptability r = .03. The results of the social desirability scale suggest that people tend to give more honest answers at the adaptability dimension than at the cohesion dimension. On the basis of Portner´s and Bell´s material normative class limits were determined for the cohesion and adaptability dimension (mean + one standard deviation score)(Olson et al. 1978).

THE RESULTS OF THE FINNISH PROJECT

Under my supervision Bondestam et al. (1983) presented this scale to 30 healthy families (N=94). The families were chosen to this study with the criterion that family members have not suffered from such mental disturbances that have led to treatment in psychiatric hospitals or mental health centers. 94 family members filled in the Family Wellness Scale measuring parallelly family adaptability and togetherness. In addition, the questionnaire has been presented to 37 students in an introductory psychology class and to 119 high school students aged 16-18 years.

The means, standard deviations and variation ranges for each dimension (cohesion, adaptability, and social desirability) were measured for the total derived from the family members (Table 1).

Table 1: Means, standard deviations and variation ranges of cohesion, adaptability and social desirability (N = 94). American norms by Olson et al. (1978) in parentheses.

	M	SD	Variation range
COHESION	263.1	21.4	201-314
	(251)	(19)	(162-303)
ADAPTABILITY	191.3	16.3	152-236
	(183)	(15)	(109-236)
SOCIAL DESIRABILITY	41.5	8.2	21-57
	(35)	(5)	(20-48)

Comparison of the family results to the findings of Olson et al. (1978) showed that Finnish means were higher at all dimensions. The greatest difference is seen in the social desirability scale which implies either that Finns give more idealistic answers or that also this scale should be corrected as well as the adaptability and cohesion scales. The findings support the conclusion that the answers supplied by Finnish families cannot be evaluated according to American norms, but rather that scales must be adapted to Finnish norms.

The validity of the adaptability dimension was concurrently studied on the basis of the Family Wellness Grid by which the cohesion and adaptability of family members was evaluated in relationship to 10 questions on a 1-4 scale. The correlation of the FACES adaptability scale to the Family Wellness Grid was r = .18. The weak concurrent

validity could be a result of the great face validity of the criterion test, which encourages answering in a socially acceptable manner. Social adaptability is known as an acceptable, desirable and rewarded characteristic. The relationship of adaptability to social desirability varied: in Finnish families r = 0.22, in Americans r = .03, and in Finnish pupils r = .15. Social desirability had no effect on adaptability scores in the findings of Olson et al. (1978) while in the Finnish findings the correlations were higher.

The correlation of the cohesion dimension to the cohesion dimension of the Family Wellness Grid proved to be significant and quite high: r = .63. Thus the statements which measure cohesion in both scales appear to cover the same area quite well. The correlation of the FACES cohesion dimension to social desirability varies significantly depending on the group in question: in Finnish families r = .55***, in Americans r = .45***, and in Finnish pupils r = .22*. The items measuring the cohesion dimension appear to increase according to age: in Finnish families M = 263, in Americans M = 251, and in Finnish psychology students M = 249, and in Finnish pupils M = 245 (Table 2). The same trend appears among students in determining the correlation between age and cohesion, r = .42**. A social desirability appears to increase with age, greater care should be taken to study to what degree age influences cohesion and what part social desirability plays.

Table 2: Means and standard deviations of scales among pupils (N =119), psychology students (N = 37) and in Finnish parents (N = 60)

	Pupils		Students		Families	
	M	SD	M	Sd	M	SD
ADAPTABILITY	188.1	16.3	182.1	19.7	191.9	15.2
Assertiveness	29.1	3.6	27.5	3.3	30.7	4.0
Control	31.1	6.6	31.7	6.5	31.7	5.7
Discipline	24.9	4.3	24.7	3.7	27.0	4.6
Negotiation	25.1	3.4	23.3	3.9	25.2	3.1
Roles	26.7	4.3	25.0	4.7	26.0	3.6
Rules	25.2	4.1	23.4	3.8	25.2	3.0
System feedback	26.2	4.1	24.4	3.8	26.3	3.2
COHESION	245.1	28.0	249.3	29.4	267.8	31.2
Emotional bonding	28.2	5.2	29.2	5.9	34.4	4.8
Family boundaries	28.5	4.3	28.7	3.9	28.9	4.0
Time	24.4	4.0	24.2	4.8	26.2	4.7
Friends	26.9	3.9	26.8	4.0	29.1	3.9
Interests and recreation	23.3	4.0	25.1	4.6	28.9	4.3
Independence	30.3	5.2	30.9	6.8	35.8	4.8
Coalition	29.3	4.8	29.0	4.4	31.1	5.1
Space	25.8	4.0	25.2	4.5	26.0	3.5
Decision making	30.2	4.0	28.8	3.2	31.3	5.1
SOCIAL DESIRABILITY	29.1	12.2	36.2	8.2	43.5	6.5

Also the question should be raised as to whether or not there are other intervening variables in addition to age which would influence both variables to increase with age in Finnish pupils M = 29.1, in Finnish psychology students M = 36.2, and in Finnish families M = 41.5. In examining cohesion in relation to the sex of the subjects (in families r = -.17) it can be seen a trend that women appear to experience their families as being more solid and closer than men do.

Leino (1987) studied 34 epileptic children (aged 9-12) and 41 controls of same age and their families. The children were tested with the Bene & Anthony Family Relation Test (FRT) and with FACES I. The children´s dependency was measured with the Children´s Dependency scale developed by Golightly et al. (1970). The FACES test results were factor analysed and Varimax rotated. Seven factors describing family structure were extracted. These factors explain 38 % of the variation of the variables. The factors are:

I <u>No conversation, family members do not know each other</u>

There is little interaction between the family members. Help for solving problems is rather taken from outside the family. The children are unfamiliar with the rules of the family and with the sanctions from breaking the rules. They also find it difficult to understand the functioning of other family members.

II <u>A cohesive and flexibly working family</u>

The family is solid but operates flexibly. All family members are listened to and taken into consideration in decision making. The rules of the family are drawn together. The family members have close relations and the atmosphere is approving and secure. A family described by this factor would get average scores on the

adaptability and be close to the solidity extreme on the cohesion scales.

III Balance of individuality and unity

The third factor illustrates the balanced cohesion. According to children´s evaluations there is enough individual autonomy and family unity in these families; matters are discussed but decisions are made independently.

IV Family democracy

In these families the individual member´s right to make independent decisions is emphasized. There is no clear leaders in the family; matters are discussed also with the children before decision making. The factor depicts a well functioning family that has an average score on both scales (cohesion and adaptability).

V Enmeshed family

The fifth factor describes an enmeshed cohesion. The family limits individual autonomy of its members in relation to the family surroundings.

VI Disengagement of the family members

Matters are not discussed and the family members are distant to each other. The children find it hard to follow what is going on in the family. There is no feeling of unity: although the family members are all at home, they are not together.

VII Inefficient communication

The family members are not capable of expressing their desires and emotions to each other. This factor was loaded with items illustrating all three levels of cohesion and adaptability. As the statements representing the average value on both scales were negatively loaded, it seems that the families described by this factor lack balance. The family is easily drifting from one extreme to another trying different practices.

In the factor analysis two factors describing a well functioning family system were differentiated in the average position of both the cohesion and the adaptability scale: The factor of **balanced individuality and unity** and the **family democracy**. The middle area described by Barnes & Olson (1985) is represented by the factor **coherent, well functioning family.** This factor was loaded with items from the average level of the adaptability scale and extreme level of the cohesion scale. Factor V enmeshed family is placed too much in the enmeshed extreme of the cohesion scale and describes therefore a poorly functioning family system. The factors no conversation, family members do not know each other, family members disengaged and inefficient communication were loaded with items from the extreme ends of both the cohesion and the adaptability scale. According to Olson et al. (1979) the contradictory expectations for the family by one or both of the parents may lead to a situation where the family drifts from one extreme to another without finding a solution to satisfy all family members. These factors also brought forth the importance of communication in furthering the functioning of the family. All three factors were loaded with items describing insufficient or inefficient communication within the family.

The evaluations of their families by epileptic children and the control group children were parallel on many factors. Only two factors gave statistically significant differences: On the family democracy factor the epileptic children evaluated their families less democratic than the control group children ($t = -2.44^{*}$). The epileptic children also evaluated the relations between family members more disengaged than the control group did ($t = 2.15^{*}$). Thus families with an epileptic child would be closer to the

disengaged extreme of the cohesion dimension than the control group families (Table 3).

Table 3: Family democracy and disengagement of the family members

	Family democracy			Disengagement		
	M	SD	t	M	SD	t
Epileptic group	524.9	88.2		478.0	78.0	
Control group	470.0	106.3	-2.4*	526.6	117.1	2.2*

The results support earlier studies; Ferrari et al. (1983) noticed that the parents of epileptic children evaluated their families less cohesive and communication between family members less efficient than the control group parents. The families with an epileptic child do not perhaps support enough the the child´s process of growing independent and active. It can also be claimed that a child with a chronic disease needs generally more support, encouragement and improving his self-esteem than a healthy child does.

Ahlman (1983) applied the FACES I to differentiate 32 families with psychosomatically sick children aged 6-11 years from controls. Psychosomatically ill children suffered diabetes, encopresis, enuresis, obesitas and milder diseases (psychogenic headache,psychogenic stomach complaints etc.). Children were tested with Rorschach test, the Bene Anthony Family Relations Test, Draw-A-Person test and

WISC. Psychosomatically ill children had more emotional problems than controls. The test group children had poorly developed and labile body image. The families with psychosomatically ill child had rigid adaptability.

Family with a psychosomatically ill child give socially accepted answers in the FACES test: Social desirability correlates significantly positive with cohesion, emotional bonding, and independence, thus the more cohesive and dependent the family is, the stronger tendency to answer with a high social desirability (Table 4,5).

Table 4: Means and standard deviations among psychosomatic children´s families (N=35) (Ahlman 1983)

	Psychosomatic Group		Control group		
	M	SD	M	SD	t
ADAPTABILITY	188.1	10.8	191.9	15.2	-5.13**
COHESION	267.7	22.1	267.8	31.2	0.02
SOCIAL DESIRABILITY	41.9	7.3	43.5	6.5	-2.71*

Table 5: Intercorrelations between dimensions among families with a psychosomatically ill child

	COHESION	SOCIAL DESIRABILITY	Emotional bonding	Independence
ADAPTABILITY	.36	.04	.42*	.25
COHESION		.76***	.96***	.86***
SOCIAL DESIRABILITY			.80***	.68***
Emotional bonding				.87***

According to grouping analysis of the personality and family variables of the children four groups were differentiated:

Group 1 (N=6):

- children with severe disease, diabetes or encopresis
- daily symptoms
- broken home
- poor emotional relationships at home
- rigid or chaotic adaptability
- all children had special emotional problems
- good body image

Quite good separation and individuation of the child have occurred, but the parent of broken home has poor emotional contact to the child.

Group 2 (N=8):

- children with severe disease, diabetes, encopresis, enuresis, obesitas
- whole family
- high cohesion and dependence in the family
- poorest body image
- more overprotection in the family

This group indicates enmeshed family type according to Stierlin (1977) which hindrances normal separation-individuation of the child.

Group 3 (N=8):

- children with milder psychosomatic disease
- no special problems of the child
- stable and well developed body image
- quite creative
- rigid family adaptability and separated, distant attachment

Quite well adapted children with high sensitivity to family´s cool relations. According to Stierlin the group 3 consists of delegated children.

Group 4 (N= 4):

-newly found somatic disease (epilepsy)
- no special problems
- quite labile body image
- whole family
- enmeshed
-chaotic adaptability and overprotection in the family.

According to Minuchin model enmeshment, overprotection, rigidity and lack of conflict resolution are typical of the family structure and functioning of a family with a psychosomatically ill child.

Laiho (1988) studied the connection between the asthma and heart disease of the children (aged 6-10) and the interaction of their families. 26 families of asthmatic children filled the FACES -form, the Index of Family Characteristics and the Marital Communication Inventory. A parallel study was carried out with 18 families with a child (aged 6-10)with a chronic heart disease as well as with 15 so called healthy families. The study results do not support the Minuchin family model hypothesis that the families of asthmatic children would be more enmeshed, overprotective, rigid and lacking conflict resolution more than the control group families (those with a child with a chronic heart disease). There were no statistically significant score between the families of an asthmatic child or those of a child with a heart disease (Table 6,7); but these was a statistically significant difference to the so called healthy families (Table 6).

Table 6: Cohesion and adaptability among three groups

	Cohesion		Adaptability		
	M	SD	M	SD	N
1. ASTHMA GROUP	264.9	15.4	186.3	14.2	48
2. HEART DISEASE GROUP	259.0	22.3	183.9	15.2	34
3. HEALTHY GROUP	270.5	16.2	184.9	15.6	30
	$F_{2,109} = 3.3^{*}$		$F_{2,109} = 0.3$		
	$t_{2,3} = -2.4^{*}$, df = 59				

Time as a subscale of cohesion differentiated the asthma families and the heart disease families. The asthma families spent more time together than the heart disease families. There were no differences in the family adaptability, although the asthma families were slightly more adaptable. **Rules** as a subscale of adaptability differentiated the families statistically significantly. The rules were more flexible in the asthmatic families than in chronic heart disease families.

Table 7: Rules and time among groups

	Rules			Time		
	M	SD	t	M	SD	t
ASTHMA GROUP	25.0	2.9		27.6	3.9	
HEART DISEASE GROUP	23.3	3.5	2.3*	25.5	3.7	2.4*

The hypothesis on the rigidness of the asthmatic families were not proved right: asthmatic families can be classified as flexible or structured (Table 8).

Table 8: Rigidity and lack of conflict resolution among groups

	Rigidity			Lack of conflict resolution		
	M	SD	t	M	SD	t
ASTHMA GROUP	12.3	1.4		11.8	2.0	
HEART DISEASE GROUP	12.4	1.4	-0.3	10.9	2.2	1.7

The asthma families were not more enmeshed than the heart disease families; all family types could be called engaged and enmeshed. Overprotection was not more typical of asthma families either (Table 9).

Table 9: Enmeshment and overprotection

	Enmeshment			Overprotection		
	M	SD	t	M	SD	t
ASTHMA GROUP	14.9	1.7		15.1	1.6	
HEART DISEASE GROUP	15.0	2.0	-0.1	15.0	1.5	0.2

These empirical study results, although with a limited subject material, do not give scientific support to the Minuchin model (1975,1978) based on clinical experience. On the other hand, the results of the Finnish study are understandable as there is only one proper international parallel study on asthmatic children, children with a heart disease and so called healthy children. Such a setting will give information about the effects of a chronic disease on the interaction and dynamics of a family. Therefore it is only natural that the families with a chronically ill child, although two different diseases were involved, are similar to each other in the family structure and dynamics. It was also noticed that the families with a chronically ill child were more truthful in their answers than the healthy families.

Kalliopuska & Väyrynen (1983) have studied family dynamics of parents´ groups (N=36) arranged by the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare. The family material differed statistically almost significantly from the earlier parent material on the adaptability dimension (Table 10).

Table 10: Family school´s participants compared with parents´ norm material (N = 60)

	Family school		Norm material		
	M	SD	M	SD	t
ADAPTABILITY	184.7	11.5	191.9	15.2	-2.4*
COHESION	268.0	22.3	267.8	31.2	0.0
SOCIAL DESIRABILITY	43.4	6.8	43.5	6.5	-0.1
Discipline	24.9	3.3	27.0	4.6	-2.4*
Roles	23.7	3.0	26.0	3.6	-3.2**
Feedback from the family	24.2	2.7	26.3	3.2	-3.3**

There were no differences on cohesion dimension or in the social desirability between the two material groups. When surveying the dimensions by subscales no statistically significant differences were seen between the groups. But three subscales of the adaptability dimension gave statistically significant differences: These subscales were, discipline, roles and family feedback. The parents in this study used disciplinary measures at home less and had more flexible role structures in the family and had less feedback from the family than the parents of the study conducted Bondestam et al. (1981, 1983).

The Finnish material differs statistically significantly from the American material in the cohesion dimension and social desirability. The Finnish family system seems to be more cohesive than the American one (Table 1, Bondestam et al. 1983). Finns also apply more a way of answering that disturbs the study result trying to give an above the average image of their families. They tend to use their defences when answering the statements.

The FACES I test is well suited for starting a family therapy in order to give the therapist an idea of the different family members´ views on the functioning of the family. Comparing the differences of views of the spouses also gives interesting results. The therapist will also soon find out the atmosphere in the family, the roles and rules, the discipline and the means of negotiation and decision making in the family.

On the other hand, the method also seems suitable for training parents if the results applied in individual families according to the subscales of the cohesion and adaptability dimensions. Setting the parents on dimensions of the circumplex model according to their answers will give direct feedback on the functioning of the family. Through analysis of the results will give information primarily for developing the parents´ educational and interactive skills, and secondarily for clarifying educational principles and encouraging self confidence.

In comparing American and Finnish findings cultural differences must also be taken into consideration. Family life in Finland could be more family oriented than American family life, which appears in the cohesion dimension. Social desirability appears to be greater in Finnish

personal answer sets than in those of Americans, which cause error variance. Different individuals, however, evaluate different answers as socially desirable: thus social desirability does not influence all answers in the same way. In one person´s opinion the ideal family means independency of family members and in another´s again interdependency of family members. The differences in out findings are either a result of differences in families of the two cultures or statements are more readily accepted in U.S.A.

Of the subject groups, families proved to have the most reliable results, as the investigators were better able to control the test situation by giving personal advice and also because there was a representation of different age groups. Our investigation are promising and direct providing, but the research work continues.

REFERENCES

AHLMAN, D. (1983) Personlighetsdynamiska drag och familjeinteraktion hos barn med psykosomatiska sjukdomar och symptom. Helsinki University, Pro gradu avhandling in tillämpad psykologi.

BONDESTAM, S., Davidkin, K., Kalliopuska, M., Nopola, K., Salminen, S. & Yli-Pohja, L. (1981) FACESin itseraportointiasteikon tomivuuden testaus. Käsikirjoitus. Helsingin yliopisto 1981.

BONDESTAM, S., Davidkin, K., Kalliopuska, M., Nopola, K., Salminen, S. & Yli-Pohja, L. (1982) Study on the interaction and family dynamics in Finnish families. Acta Psychologica Fennica XI, 195-196.

BONDESTAM, S., Davidkin, K., Kalliopuska, M., Nopola, K., Salminen, S., & Yli-Pohja, L. (1982) Study on the interaction and family dynamics in Finnish families: Coping and defences related to family cohesion and adaptability. Acta Psychologica Fennica XI, 197-198.

BONDESTAM, S., Davidkin, K., Kalliopuska, M., Nopola, K., Salminen, S. & Yli-Pohja, L. (1983) The practice of family adaptability and cohesion evaluation scales (FACES) in Finland. Psychiatria Fennica, 89-96.

BARNES, H. L. & Olson, D. H. (1985) Parent-adolescent communication and the circumplex model. Child Development, 56, 438-447.

FERRARI, M., Matthews, W. & Gabor, B. (1983) The family and the child with epilepsy. Family Process, 22, 53-59.

KALLIOPUSKA, M. & Väyrynen, P. (1983)Vanhempainkurssille osallistuneiden perhe dynamiikasta kehateoreettisen mallin mukaan tarkasteltuna. Lapset ja yhteiskunta, 1984. Käsikirjoitus 1983.

LAIHO, P. (1988) Lapsen astma ja perhevuorovaikutus. Helsingin yliopisto. Psykologian tutkielma.

LEINO, A. (1987) Epilepsiaa sairastavan lapsen riippuvuus ja perhe. Helsingin yliopisto. Soveltavan psykologian pro gradu työ.

MINUCHIN, S,. Baker, L., Rosman, B., Liebman, R., Wilman, L. & Todd, T. (1975) A coceptual model of psychosomatic illness in children. Archives of General Psychiatry, 32, 8, 1031-1038.

MINUCHIN, S., Rosman, B.L. & Baker, L. (1978)Psychosomatic families. Anorexia nervosa in context. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

OLSON, D., Bell, R., Porther, J. (1978)FACES: Family adaptability and cohesion evaluation scales. Family Social Science, University of Minnesota, St. Paul.

OLSON, D., Sprenkle, D., & Russell, C. (1979) Circumplex model of marital and family systems: I Cohesion and adaptability dimensions, family types, and clinical applications. Family Process, 18, 1, 3-34.

OLSON, D., Russell, C., & Sprenkle, D. (1983) Circumplex model of marital and family systems: VI Theoretical update. Family Process, 22, 69-83.

OLSON, D.H. (1986) Circumplex model III: Validation studies and FACES III. Family Process, 25,3, 337-351.

STIERLIN, H. (1977) Psychosomatic Disorders and levels of differentiation- integration: An approach to "Family Psychosomatics". Psychiatria Fennica, 189-199.

FAMILY COHESION

	SCORE	DISENGAGED 1 2	SEPARATED 3 4	CONNECTED 5 6	ENMESHED 7 8
EMOTIONAL BONDING (Feelings of Closeness)		Extreme separateness. Lack of closeness or loyalty.	Emotional separateness encouraged and preferred. Need for support respected.	Emotional closeness encouraged and preferred. Need for separateness respected.	Extreme closeness. Loyalty demanded. Separateness restricted.
INDEPENDENCE (Versus Dependence)		High independence. Family members depend on themselves.	Independence encouraged and preferred. Dependence acceptable at times. Many needs met outside family.	Dependence is encouraged and preferred. Independence acceptable at times. Many needs met within family.	High dependence of family members on each other.
FAMILY BOUNDARIES (External Relationship)		Influence of outside people and ideas unrestricted.	Open to outside people and ideas.	Some control of outside people and ideas.	Influence of outside people and ideas restricted.
COALITIONS (Marital) (Sibling) (Generational)		Weak marital coalition. Poor sibling relationship. Blurred generational lines.	Stable marital coalitions. Stable sibling relationship. Fluid generational lines.	Strong marital coalitions. Stable sibling relations. Stable generational lines.	Weak marital coalitions. Parent-child coalitions. Blurred generational lines.
TIME (Physical and/or Emotional)		Time apart from family maximized. Rarely time together.	Time alone important. Some time together.	Time together important and scheduled. Time alone permitted.	Time together maximized. Little time alone permitted.
SPACE (Physical and/or Emotional)		Separate space needed and preferred.	Separate space preferred; Sharing of family space.	Sharing family space preferred. Private space respected.	Little or no private space permitted.
FRIENDS		Mainly individual friends seen alone. Few family friends.	Individual friends shared with family. Some family friends.	Some individual friends. Some scheduled activities with couple/family friends.	Limited individual friends. Couple/family friends strongly encouraged.
DECISION MAKING		Primarily individual decisions. No checking with other family members.	Most decisions individually made. Able to make joint decisions on family issues.	Most decisions made with family in mind. Individual decisions are shared.	All decisions, both personal and relationship, must be approved.
INTERESTS AND RECREATION		Primarily individual activities done without family. Family not involved.	Some spontaneous family activities. Individual activities supported.	Some scheduled family activities. Family involved in individual interests.	Most activities and interests must be shared with family.
TOTAL COHESION					

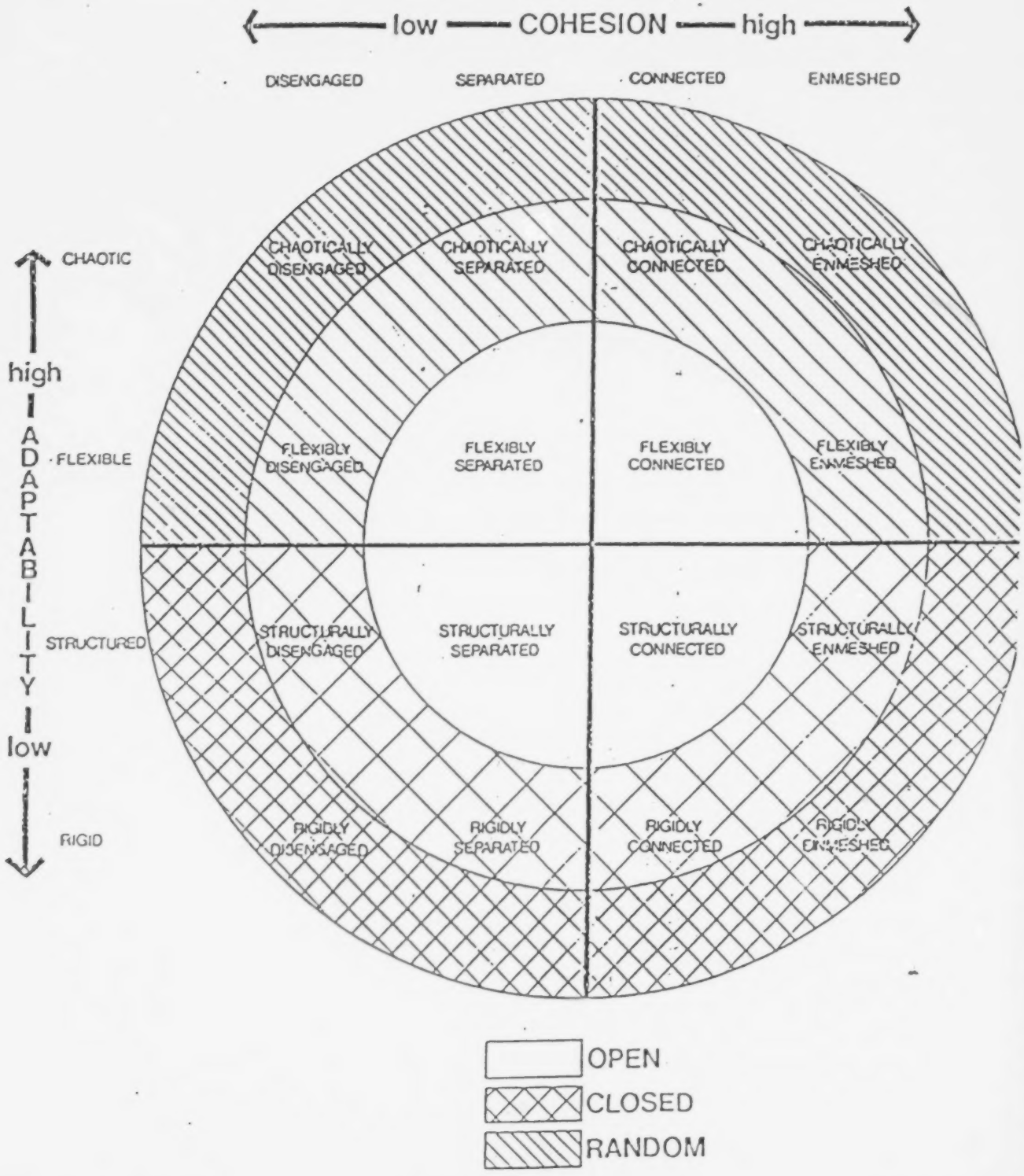
Figure 1

FAMILY ADAPTABILITY

	SCORE	RIGID 1 2	STRUCTURED 3 4	FLEXIBLE 5 6	CHAOTIC 7 8
ASSERTIVENESS		Passive-aggressive styles of interaction.	Generally assertive with some aggression.	Mutually assertive with rare aggression.	Passive and aggressive styles. Unpredictable patterns.
CONTROL (Leadership)		Authoritarian. Traditional leadership.	Leadership is stable and kindly imposed.	Equalitarian leadership with fluid changes.	Limited and/or erratic leadership.
DISCIPLINE		Autocratic. Strict, rigid conseq. Rigidly enforced.	Generally democratic. Predictable consequences Firmly imposed and enforced.	Usually democratic. Negotiated conseq. Fairly maintained.	Laissez-faire: Inconsistent consequences. Erratically enforced.
NEGOTIATION		Poor problem solving. Limited negotiations. Solution imposed.	Good problem solving. Structured negotiations. Reasonable solutions.	Good problem solving. Flexible negotiations. Agreed upon solutions.	Poor problem solving. Endless negotiations. Impulsive solutions.
ROLES		Role rigidity. Stereotyped roles.	Roles stable, but may be shared.	Role sharing and making Fluid changes of roles.	Dramatic role shifts. Sporadic role reversals.
RULES		Rigid rules. Many explicit rules. Many implicit rules. Rules strictly enforced.	Few rule changes. Many explicit rules. Some implicit rules. Rules firmly enforced.	Some rule changes. Some explicit rules. Few implicit rules. Rules fairly enforced.	Dramatic rule changes. Many explicit rules. Few implicit rules. Rules arbitrarily enforced.
TOTAL ADAPTABILITY					

Figure 2

FIGURE 3: SIXTEEN POSSIBLE TYPES OF MARITAL AND FAMILY SYSTEMS DERIVED FROM THE CIRCUMPLEX MODEL



Jeno Ranschburg
Institute for Psychology of the
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE CHILD - SECONDARY EXPERIENCES OF THE EXAMINATION OF PARENT- CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

I think, above 50, every researcher feels an inner pressure to summarize his work or -- at least -- to take place some kind of synthesis of his past experiences. Now I would like to tell you about some of the particular experiences of 25 years studying the children and their families in Hungary. Recently there are known warning data concerning the problems of social adaptation of Hungarian children -- for example the high rate of suicide or the increasing tendency of juvenile delinquency. But this is -- as we used to say in Hungary -- "only the peak of the iceberg". In this paper I shall try to present the most important-warning signals of the parenting and the parent-child relationship which are more and more characteristic traits of the Hungarian families and which are important reasons of the problematical development of personality.

1. The emotional alienation

I guess, the emotional alienation of the couples -- the "intramarital alienation" -- is an international experience. Modern marriage is a highly complex sociological and psychological phenomenon, and the power of sexual attraction itself is not suffice for a lasting, relatively harmonic life. Only the social value of the marriage and some kind of maturity of the married persons, (which is the results of an earlier socialization) can be a guarantee for the development of mutual understanding, respect and necessary compromises. I'm afraid, you can't find the marriage amongst the important values in Hungary and you will see, the socialization causes of the immaturity of youngsters is the main topic of my paper.

It is known that according to these facts, the rate of divorces is extremely high in Hungary. Perhaps it is not an exaggeration, that recently every second marriage ends in a divorce, but as prof. Rutter has shown it, the main reason of the deviant socialization is not the divorce itself but rather which characterizes the marriage before the divorce: the family discord. The result of this discordance is another kind of alienation within the family, namely: by the time the children are 4 or 5 years old, the parents are -- at least in the 30

percents of the marriages -- lost in the puddle of their own lives. It leads to a special parental behavior which is not a classical rejection -- not yet --but rather some kind of indifference. There are better minutes in the connection with the child -- it depends on the parental disposition rather than the behavior of the child -- but usually in a problematical marriage the child become a serious burden for the parents. Children are exceedingly sensitive to nonverbal communication and are aware that the parents wish to get rid of them and be free again. In accordance with my experience one of the first signals of the family discord and the indifferent parental behavior is the case when the parents forget to go to the kindergarten for the child. I've often seen in the kindergartens of Budapest that at about 6 o'clock p.m. the 4 or 5 years old child stood alone in the empty playing room, grasping his teacher's hand and understanding that his parents didn't come for him. If the teacher takes this child home the mother opening the door, generally says: "Oh, you are here! Come, we must go to the grandma'. You have to spend a few day at her, because we are very busy." Perhaps this is the minute when the child understands, he is not loved and his presence is not important for his parents.

It is not surprising for the psychologist that this kind of indifferent parental behavior doesn't decrease but, to the contrary, in general increases the dependency needs of the children. The child has some awareness of the pleasure and comfort of being cared for; even the most reluctant mother has to attend to certain of the child's basic wants. So the child knows what it is missing and craves for more. Because of his sheer helplessness, the child will be occasionally rewarded with the minimal signs of nurturance, too. I see, about ten years later, during the adolescence, there is a paradoxical effect of this pathological dependency. Because of the stressful relationship the connection will be broken between the parents and the child. The child moves off from home and feels hatred for his parents through the whole life. We know, during the adolescence, it is necessary some kind of separation, however physical and emotional separation from parents does not necessarily imply intrapsychic separateness or individuation. As Josselson writes: "Adolescents who attempt to cope with the individuation process by wholesale abrogation of parents, through withdrawal or physical separation, are often masking their incapacity to separate from internal objects. They act as though "getting away" from parents will get them away from their troublesome introjects, and such dramatic disengagement efforts seldom serve progress in individuation." And later: "Although there

are many adolescent behaviors that serve individuation, and many pathways through the adolescent process, the more volcanic adolescent separation-efforts probably reflect more difficulty in separating."

There are cases when the emotional alienation of parents from the children is more than a simple indifferent neglect. These are the cases of the "rejection" in which we can observe a manifest hostility and cruelty from-the parents. We knows the monstrosities of the child abuse. Quoting Bakan: "Children have been whipped, beaten, starved, drowned, smashed against walls and floors, held in ice water baths, exposed to extreme outdoor temperatures, burned with hot irons and steam pipes" and so on... Wolman says, that a rejected child develops the mentality of a hunted animal. Extreme selfishness, cunning devices, lying and exploiting other people's weakness become the only way the child believes he can survive. These traits are clear symptoms of the psychopathic mentality, development of which is in connection with there early separation of the child from his parents and the rejection is a psychological form of the separation.

I would like to call the attention to the fact, that the rejection and the cruelty from the parents does not always take a physical form; it may be emotional and subtle, so that the child comes to believe he is an unmitigated nuisance, that his mere existence makes his parents unhappy, so that he is something to be devaluated.

As I mentioned above not the divorce itself causes the main problem in the development of children, but rather the family discord which can lead to the divorce, but it is not unconditionally necessary. Yet, I would -- only very briefly --like to mention that the process of the divorce in compliance with the Hungarian law is very harmful to the development of children. Firstly, the process is very long; together with the appeal-and the judgment of the Court of Appeal it is at least one year but it can be two years or longer. According to the Hungarian law, after divorce only one of the parents would possess the parental rights and the other parent in this sense will lose it. The child has to live with the parent winning the case and the other parent can get the child for the every second week and or so... Since the inability of the couple to live together does not necessarily mean that the mother or the father is unsuited for the parental role, it is absolutely understandable, that during the divorce case a hard fight is going on amongst the parents for the favors of the child. This fight is usually dishonest, with the destruction of the other parent, so it

is not surprising that at the end of the case we can find the shiftiness, the duplicity, and other hypocritical traits in the child's character.

2. The "ping-pong game"

As Wolman writes in his article: ... in wealthy families where the father and mother live side by side with each other, each of them wrapped up in making and spending money, they offer very little affection to their children". In my opinion, this statement is true in case of both the rich and the poor families in Hungary. It is known that more than 90 % of the Hungarian women are employed, so they spend at least 8 or 9 hours outside their homes. (Recently if they are young mothers, they have a possibility to stay at home until the third year of their children, but the amount of this subsidy is such low -- about the half of the mothers' payment in the original employment -- that the majority of the mothers can't allow themselves to take advantage of that, for a full time.) I don't want to dwell long on this topic, because two years ago it was too difficult to talk about it and nowadays it is too easy, but it is necessary to tell you that this unbelievably high rate of workwomen in Hungary is not the very result of an ideological viewpoint ---for instance the emancipation of the women -- but rather of a simple fact that one payment -- either low or high -- is not enough for a family to live on. Quite to the contrary, the majority of the healthy men has to look for and take an additional job (beside his original employment) for the sake of the economical security of his family. This is the background of our data, showing the dissolution of the traditional life of Hungarian families.

The average time the children spending in the institution suitable for their age (infant's nursery, kindergarten,or school) is 8 1/2 an hours. During about three hours which is spent at home, before going to sleep, the father usually isn't home (he is doing his additional job) and the mother has neither time nor energy for the child-rearing -- especially for the informal interactions, like the play. For example, according to our examinations, in the first three years of life, the average time which the parents expend on the bath of the child is no more than three and a half minutes. I think, it shows sensitively the mere functional character of the mother-child relationship.

Turning back to the Wolman´s statement quoted above, apart from the fact, that the Hungarian families usually have very little money to spend, they are really are "wrapped up in making money" and the

other half of the Wolman's sentence which says that this kind of families-" "... offer very little affection to their children" is absolutely true.

And now, the question of the responsibility. We can observe it very often, that the nervous and exhausted parents can't and don't want to take the responsibility for the development of their children, and try to shift this responsibility upon the school and the teachers. "We haven't got time for the child-rearing -- they say -- whole day he/she is in the school (in the kindergarten), it is the task of the teachers!" But the teachers' life similar to the other Hungarian habitants; with own family problems, with additional jobs and with an extremely low level of the financial and social respect. So, they shift this responsibility back upon the parents: "My task is only the education. I teach the child to read, to write to count, but the moral character, the behavior of the child, is the parent's task." This is the "ping-pong game" during which, we often experience that there are no adults in-the environment of the child, taking the responsibility for his behavior and development.

3. The shortening of the childhood

This phenomenon was revealed for me, reading Dr. Wolman's book: Children without childhood. As a clinician -I- often heard from my patients: " I've never had childhood". This statement has proved for-me, that the childhood means much more than an early period of the life -- for example from zero to ten -- because this stage has been lived by everybody who is beyond of his/her tenth year.

I think, the protective, supportive behavior of the parents is a very important part of the childhood. In a well-functioning family, the dependent, and helpless child has some feeling of the power on the parents, but the basis of this feeling is the fact that it is allowed exactly by the parent who is seen to be a strong, omnipotent person. The more help, approval and affection the child has received, the more he is sure of the forthcoming help, and the more the child feels secure, the sooner the feeling of self-confidence will be developed. According to Wolman's theory: "The supportive attitude of parents gives the child an-increasing feeling of his or her own power and enables him or her to enter the higher developmental stage..."

I think, here is the main problem in our families. Since usually there is no time to be protective and supportive with the child, a very hard

ideology has been developed, in which it is not necessary at all, even it is harmful for the children, because the protective behavior is the same with the overprotecting. We received a lot of signals which show, the parents being unable to achieve a protective, responsive form of parent-child relationship, strive for taking the child himself independent and self-supporting, as soon as possible. The mothers wean their babies very early and these babies are not more than five month old when they have ~o hold the glass alone under drinking. We have data that a lot of mothers leave their babies alone in the flat before they are three month old, and we guess that this behavior is a part of a special maternal attitude, which have very unpleasant results in the later socialization. We explain to the mother that in the 6 month it is too ear-l-y to begin the toilette-training, and we see the 6 or 7 years old children with the key on their neck, who have to pick up their sisters in the kindergarten, before they can go home from the school.

I think, in the background of these symptoms we can find a special interactional problem. According to Wolman's theory, the human interactions can be presented on three main dimensions, namely instrumental, mutual and vectorial. (These types are not always discrete patterns, and the human interactions are often a combination of them.) On the basis of this model, the social relations can be divided according to the aims of the participants. If the main purpose of the person is the satisfaction of his own needs, he is on the instrumental, if the satisfaction of the partners' needs, he is on the vectorial and if his own and his partners' needs together, he is on the mutual dimension.

The children in the first years can be found on the instrumental dimension -- especially in connection witn their parents. The child is a parasitical taker, he want to get food, love, security and so on, but he is unable to give anything for his partner. The child's undisturbed instrumental relationship with the parents, is a very important factor of the development. "Parental acceptance and approval is the very foundation for the child's feeling of security, and the more the child is sure of continuous parental support, the more courage he or she will have in forming social relations with peers on a give-and-take basis" -- writes Wolman. The "give-and-take basis" is the second dimension, namely the mutuality. In mutual relations the desire to give, to accept the other person comes to the fore, but according to the meaning of the mutuality, the participants of the relations want to receive similar feelings and behaviors from their

partners, what they are giving to them. We can find these relations in a successful adult-adult or child-child connection. Put I think, the mutuality is absolutely unsuited for the parent-child relationship. In this dimension, giving the love and other positive emotions, adequate reactions of child are requested, and he is unable to do it, because he is on the instrumental dimension. I can see very often this inconsistency in the parent-child relationship: "I give him everything, I love him, he has to be grateful to-me." "He want to play with me and is unable to accept, that I'm tired." - and so on...

I guess, this is the main reason of the phenomenon, that the parents Want to shorten the childhood. They can exist only on the mutual dimension, and very quickly force it on their children. However the majority of the children are unable to move on this dimension, they lose their security, and their behavior with the other children will be aggressive, guarding and hostile. As one may experience it, the premature children very easy can-become immature, childish adolescents --and adults. Perhaps not necessary to say that it is a circle of vicious: if this new immature generation become parent, the situation will be worse, than earlier. If I count well, today the second generation is ready to be parent.

Ideally, the parent gives, love, caring, protection, help, and doesn't ask anything in return. This is the vectorial form of interaction. Quoting Wolman: "Parenthood is the prototype of the vectarialism. Parents create life, protect it and care for it regardless of their child's looks, health, IQ, disposition and success... To be an adequate parent one needs to be strong, friendly, willing to give, help and take care of one's child without asking anything in return."

REFERENCES

Bakan, D. (1971) Slaughter of the Innocents. San Francisco:Jossey-Bass.

Josselson, R. (1980) Ego-Development in Adolescence. In J. Adelson (Ed.), Handbook of Adolescent Psychology. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Rutter, M. (1981) Stress, coping and development Some issues and some questions. Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 22, 323-356.

Wolman, B.B. (1970) Children without Childhood. New York: Grune and Stratton.

Wolman, B.B., 1982, Interactional theory.In: B.B. Wolman (Ed.), Handbook of developmental psychology. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Wolman, B.B. (1983) Marriage and parenthood: The changing scene, In B.B. Wolman and G. Stricker (Eds.), Handbook of family and marital therapy. New York: Plenum Press.

Julia Sugar Kadar
Institute for Psychology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

THE COMPLEMENTARY ROLES OF PARENT- INFANT INTERACTIONS AND THE VERBAL SKILLS OF PRESCHOOLERS OF BROKEN FAMILIES

In the first part of my lecture I shall talk about our examinations of infants, the focal point of which is the effect of the mother´s and father's communicative attitude on the development of the child's preverbal communication and manipulation. Next I shall discuss the relationship between the parents' similar and different communicative behavior, and the characteristic behavior patterns of traditional and modern family roles. Lastly, I shall discuss what happens in the kindergarten stage of the verbalization process if, due to the divorce of the parents, the parent-child communication is narrowed down to mother-child interactions. According to theories on the early phases of interpersonal relations the early processes of interactions - including vocal interactions - there is an asymmetrical but reciprocal dynamic relationship between the members of the parent-child dyad. Development of this dyadic relationship depends, on the one hand, on the sensitivity and the given psychical level of the child, on the other, on the sensitivity, responsiveness, empathic readiness and communicative attitude of the adult member of the dyad (see Ainsworth and Bell, 1974, Berko-Gleason, 1975, Camaioni, 1979, Rondal, 1980, etc.). According the Bruner´s theory (1978), the mother-child dyadic interactions are realized in the so called "transaction-model", in which the mother's behavior creates the situation-based interpersonal context. Through these transactions the child learns some of the social rules of vocal communication: the signalization, the reciprocity of dialogue, etc. The roots of verbal communicative behavior too are found in this early social communicational system.(Freedle and Lewis, 1977). A number of investigations have raised the question whether there is a father-child dyadic transaction, and if there is so, does it differ, and in what way, from the mother-child dyad. Friedlender (1972), Greenberg and Morris (1974), Berko-Gleason (1975) found the affectivity and characteristics of parents' communicative attitude to be similar. But according to Rebelsky and Hanks (1971), Rondal (1980), Wiesenfeld et al. (1981), New and Benigni (1987), the different situation-dependent affectivity and different communicative attitude of the parents play complementary roles in the dyads. Some investigators ascribe an important role also to the sex of the

child with regard to the nature of communication within the family. According to Rottbart´s-observations (1970,1971; cited by Giles-Powesland, 1975), girls are more motivated to speak by the mother. Buss (I981) in studying the relationship between kindergartener and their parents, had found that children of different sex, sensitivity, and liveliness evoke different socializational expectations in the parents. Other researchers (Horna and Lupri, 1987, Gouveia et al.1988) have established on the basis of data collected in Portuguese and Canadian families, that fathers take less part in childcare, that they are together and play with their children mostly in free interactions. The roots of these fathers' behavior are related to the conventional division of labor and recently, to their contribution to the family budget and, in consequence of these, to the social traditions of the father's role in the family and in the father-child interaction.

METHODS

Experiment No 1. 30 infants were studied longitudinally during the first year of their life. The tape recordings were made of mother/father-infant communications in unstructured and structured situations. In the structured situation the parents taught their 9-month old children to play with a new toy. The proportion of frequency and duration of utterances of children and of both parents, and some other characteristics of parental communicative attitude,e.g. motivating, restrictive, etc. were analyzed. The given psychophysiological developmental level (DQ) was measured by Brunet-Lezine's Developmental Scale (I957) adapted and standardized to Hungarian population (1971). The parents' interpersonal sensitivity their empathic skill were measured by Mehrabian and Skionzky, (1974).

Experiment No 2.
436 kindergarteners took part in different speech tasks which were modeled after given types of speech level and communication. These were: enunciation of speech sounds, reproduction of speech rhythm and sentence stress, sphere of meaning, size of active vocabulary, narrative task and dialogic relations. Basic data of subjects, see on the Table 1.

Demographic data, complied by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office in 1986-1988, are included to serve as a basis of comparison

Table I: Data of the experimental group

Number of subjects: 436 children (main age: 5;6)
- boys 50,5 %
- girls 49,5 %

Proportion of broken families 16,6%

Proportion of education level of divorced parents in relation of total group

	Father		Mother	
	total group	divorced	total group	divorced
	%	%	%	%
elementary school	44.8	16.2	80.6	12.6
secondary school	39.9	12.3	9.9	14.8
high school	15.3	20.8	9.5	3.9

Some demographic data on divorced Hungarian families (1986-88)

Divorced people in the adult population in 1988 6.0 %

Education of divorced parents:
- elementary school /unskilled/: 50.0 %
- secondary school + higher education: 50.0 %
- university 16.5 %

Children were under six years of age at the time of the parents' divorce.
35 %

1988).

RESULTS

Experiment No 1.

Characteristics of early parent-infant communication in intact families.

We have found vocalizations of our longitudinally examined experimental group of 30 infants to show age and situation specific features, which. features differ according to gender.

Number of utterances

In the case of boys there are no significant differences between mother-child and father-child situations with regard to the number of vocalizations, while in the case of girls there are significant differences, though showing a declining tendency in the period between 2 and 8 months of age (See Fig. 1).

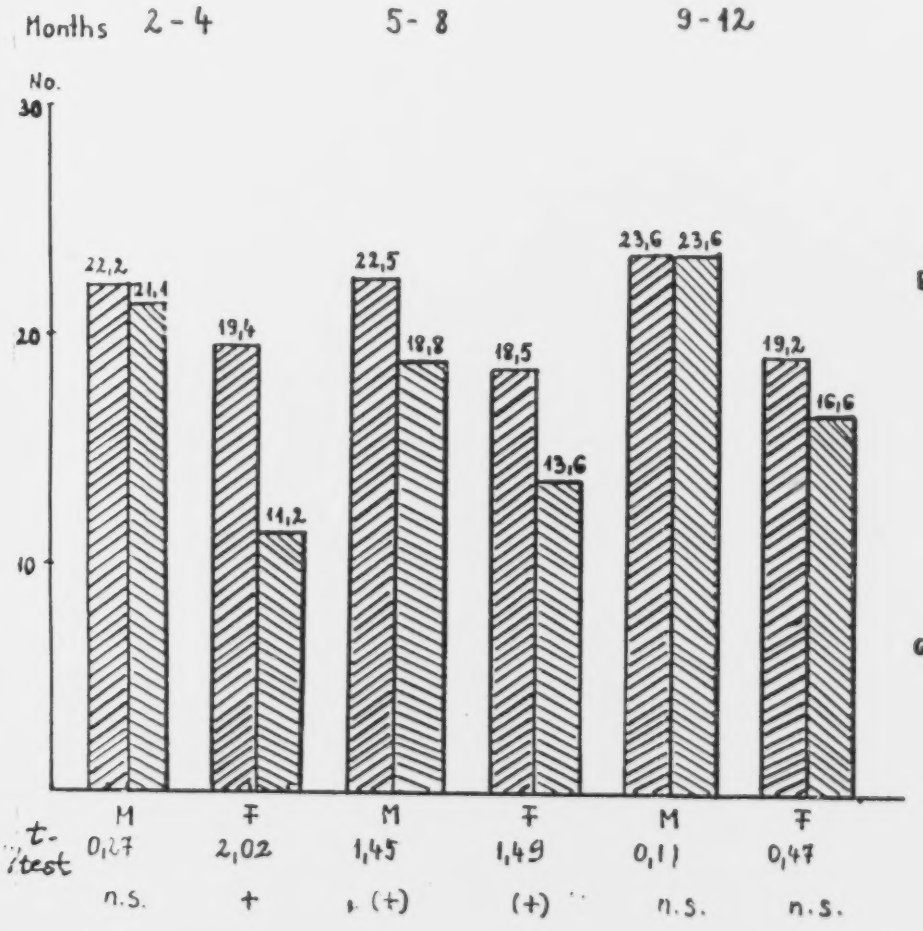
The quality of vocalizations

In highly emotion-charged situations the presence of the vocalization type serving outburst and tension reduction.

In the course of development its importance declines in mother-child dyadic situations, but in father-child situations it remains dominant. The relatively smaller frequency of the vocalization type containing articulate sound is due to its function; functional exercise of articulate sound (i.e., with the purpose of relevant utterance) is seldom possible in the emotion-charged situations we have examined interaction with mother, with father. But its frequency of occurrence becomes significant at the age of 5 to 8 months in mother-child dyadic situations when articulation exercises in the form of echolalic games become a part of the mother's transactional educational strategy.

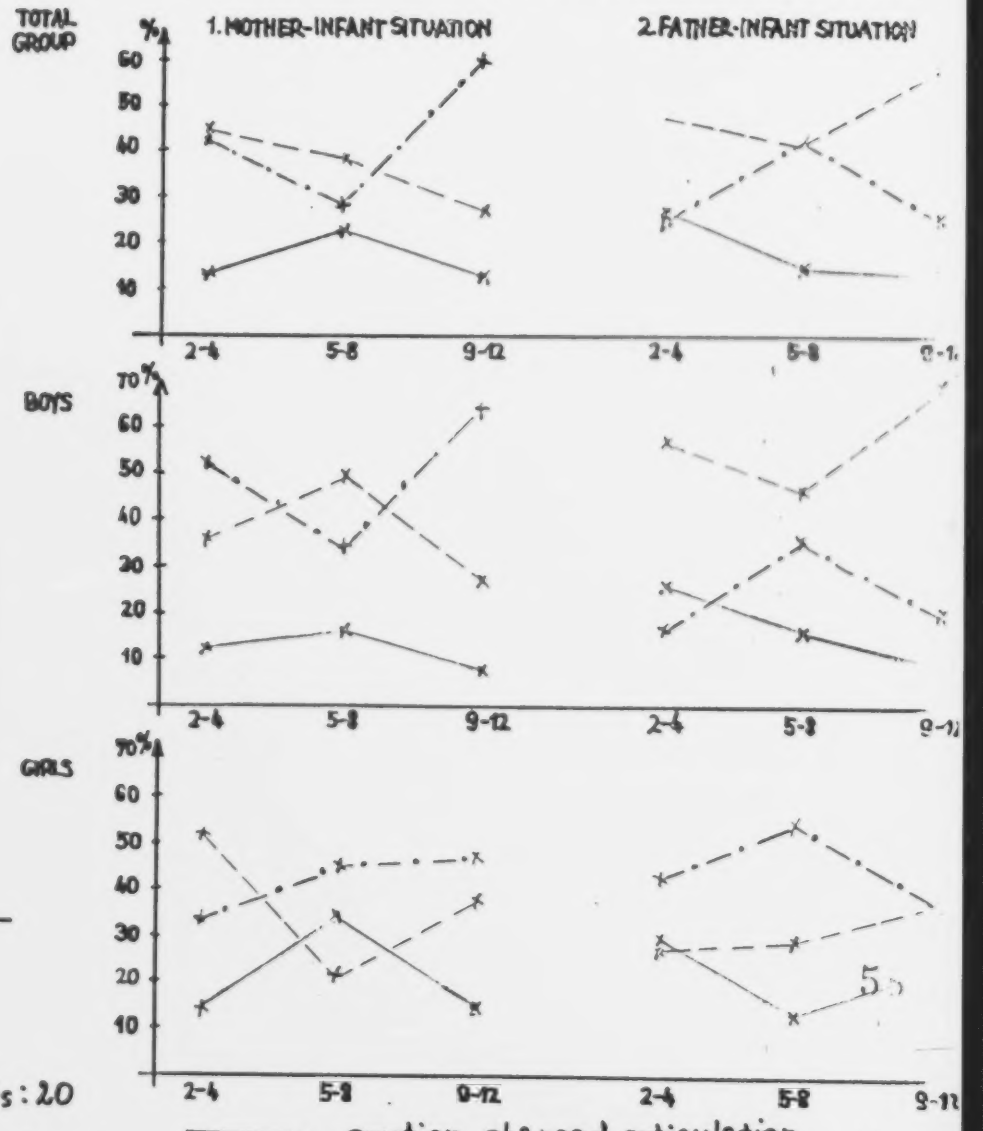
The emotion-charged articulated vocalization type, behaves in every age group and in every examined situation as an inverted spike with a growing significance in father-child interaction. Boys' vocalizations are mostly characterized by spike sounds indicating

Number of utterances in parent/infant dyads



No of Subjects: 20

PROPORTIONS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF CURVES



emotional outburst, whereas girls' vocalizations are characterized by complex sound types containing emotioncharged articulation.

The structured teaching situation: The fathers' demonstration strategy evoked a greater cooperative effort from the child. According to our results and in contact with direct teaching strategies, the stressed motivating attitude of both parents shows a statistical relationship with interest in the new object, grasping the object, the intensity of manipulative activity, and successful manipulation.

See Figure 2.

In this case there were no significant differences between the dyads. There was successful manipulation in 77,7 of the cases in the mother-infant dyads, and 73.3 % of the Cases in the father-infant dyads. 53 % of the experimental group performed the similar tasks of the next level (10-month olds) of the Development Scale (Brunet-Lezine, 1971), namely; After demonstration a cube has to be put in a dish. So the abovementioned slightly higher proportions show the results of the acquisition of a new manipulative form the course of parent-infant interaction.

Interactive communication, the parent's manifestations endeavors and actions as well as infant actions are accompanied by utterances, by sounds expressing the state of comfort or discomfort (prattle, crying, or impatient, yelling, complaining voice).

The negative emotional voice expressing a state of discomfort accompanies infant behavior rejecting the object and the preventive behavior of parents. The significant difference between the two dyads expressed in frequency proportions, which are related to the more frequent occurrence of the mother's guiding and restrictive strategy interfering with independent manipulation and the unsuccessful manipulations in father-infant dyads. There is also a difference between the two dyadic forms regarding the frequency and motivation of utterances of happiness accompanying the feeling of comfort (prattle, yells,squeals, etc.): See Table 2.

Voices expressing actual positive emotions and born in the mother-child communications, are related to the earlier history and emotional content of the mother-child relationship (namely: how long after childbirth did the mother first handle the child; duration of

Figure 2. Acquisition of new manipulative forms in the dyadic interaction

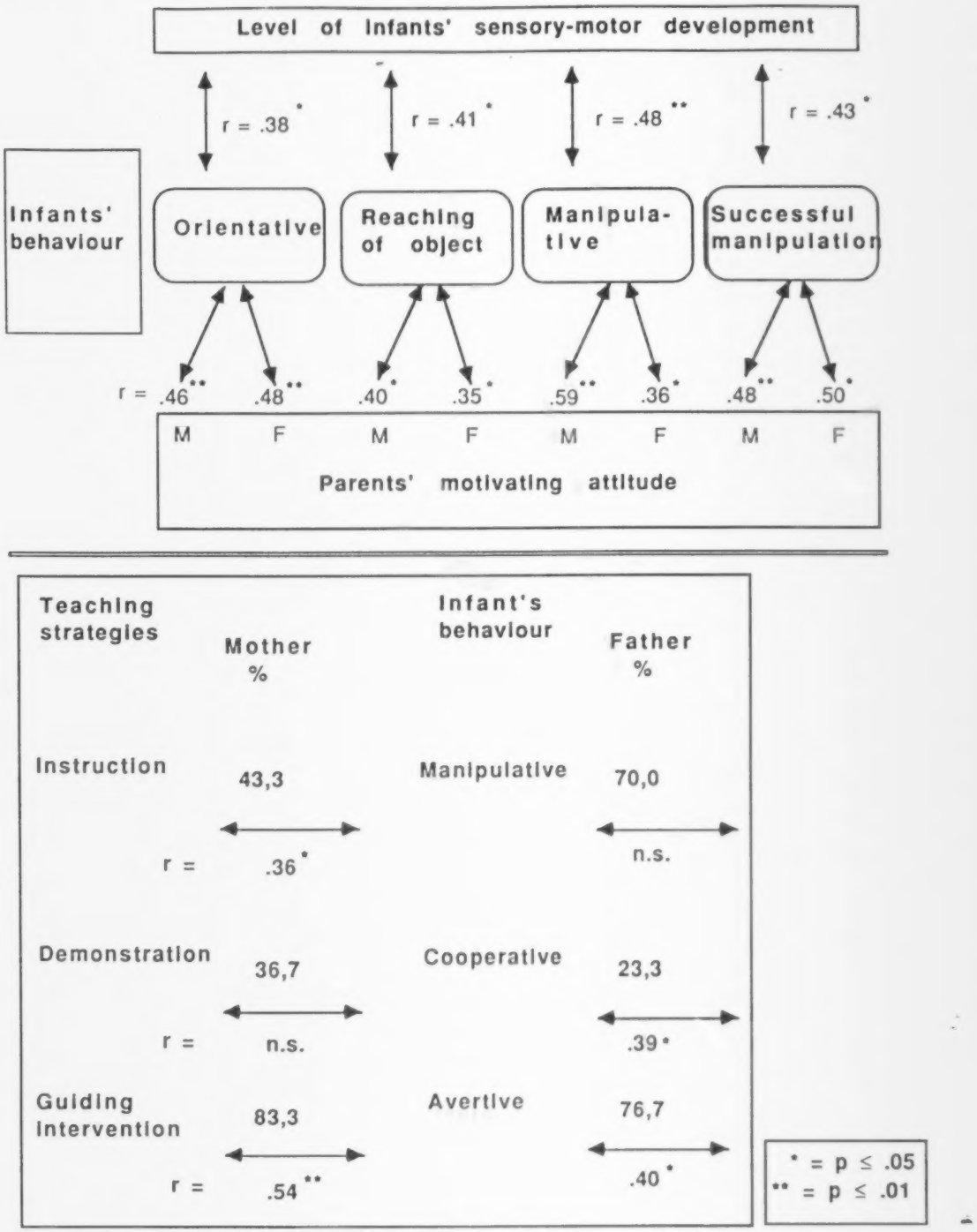


Table 2: Correlations of different infants' vocalizations in the mother/father - infant interactions

Emotional sources		Negative vocalization Mother r	Father r
Parent's			
	Restriction	.44**	.59**
	Guiding intervention	.55**	.40*
Infant's			
	Unsuccessful manipulation	n.s.	.42*
		Positive vocalization	
		Mother r	**Father r**
Parent's			
	Early touching	.35*	-
	Breastfeading duration	.33*	-
	emotion	.41**	-
	Patient treatment	.41**	.38*
	Motivation	n.s.	.59***
	Demonstrative teaching	.44**	.52***
Infant's			
	Orientation	.46**	.43**
	Independent manipulation	.38*	n.s.
	Successful manipulation	.35*	.50**
	Cooperation	n.s	.44**
	Effort to maintain the communication	n.s.	.68***

ANOVA, Source of Variance 6.72
$F = 3.57^{*}$

* = $p \leq .05$
** = $p \leq .01$
*** = $p \leq .001$

breastfeeding; general treatment by mother).

In both dyads the child´s orientative behavior is; accompanied by frequent positive utterances. While in the mother-child dyad happy utterances accompany independent and successful manipulations, in father-child dyads they accompany cooperation with the father, namely, the father´s motivating attitude, the child's cooperative behavior, and the child's efforts to maintain communication. However, according to the foregoing, it seems that utterances of happiness concerning the mother serve to express a feeling of comfort with psychophysiological origins, owing to the physical proximity of the mother, but they also express "function happiness" accompanying the child own activity. In the father-child dyad common activity is accompanied by positive utterances, the social expression of the positive feeling of togetherness.

The direct forms of teaching strategies, which are naturally inadequate at this age do not lead to the successful learning of the desired forms of activity. Yet they appear as interaction schemes of the given dyadic relationship, which obviously have their own communicative history influencing history current communication between parent and child. For instance, the effectiveness of the mother's instruction strategy is obviously due to her practice in repetitions of nursing acts (feeding, dressing, diapering), that is to the experience of the relationship between requirement and infant activity and events.

The characteristic instruction strategy of mothers is illustrated by D'Odorico and Franco's (1986) investigation in which parents had to choose a sentence from a list of variations to describe the series of pictures depicting variations of the parent-child interactions with toy. Mothers chose more imperative sentences concerning the action and the identification, quality, and place of the object. The fathers' choice of imperative sentences exceeded that of mothers only with respect to the function of the object. In our investigation, according to the mothers, 93.4 % of the fathers actively participate in the care of the child. But naturally, fathers who work outside the home have less opportunity for intimate contact. Consequently, in the actual communicative situation fathers, who have more instructions without the above background of regular daily activities. Their instructions were ineffectual way in the develop of the new manipulation form.

According the foregoing, the differences between the mother's and the father's behavior reflect some personal characteristics and traditional social- and sexual role characteristics (New and Benigni,1986). For example, the effect of the mother's physical proximity and expression of emotion on the child's behavior and activity, and the influence of the father's behavior, focusing on a given activity (of also D'Odorico and Franco's above cited results), on producing more intensive manipulation, common activity, and more successful sensor-motor learning. Other data also show (Sugar Kadar-Benigni, 1988) that fathers are more motivated by the structured situation and by the activity of the children to develop an educational strategy.

Although in our investigation the fathers took active part in childcare, the frequency and duration of being together with the child was limited to a certain part of the day and was very brief compared to the time the mother spends together with the child. This difference, due to lifestyle, evokes in the child behavior directed at maintaining common activity and, less frequently, intimate contact. At the same time in the mother-child dyad we have observed behavior to loosen the close and determining intimate situations, and efforts to achieve independent manipulation.

Our above mentioned data, comparing with the result of different other empirical researches, prove that generally similar sensitive and responsive mother and father (of course it is depending on their personalities) is differently determined by the situation and play complimenter role in choosing communicating strategies (Rondal, 1980; Wiesenfeld, 1981;Krempner, 1989).

2. The next viewpoint presents an analysis of the development level of verbal competence of kindergarteners living in intact or in broken, divorced families -together with the lonely mother. In agreement with data in the special literature (Kozma, 1975, Kimball et al. 1980). The speech of children living in broken families show better results in some factors of speech skill: their enunciation is clearer, their sentence constructions are better, they have more experiences in dialogic situations. (Table 3 and Figure 4).

These characteristics are the result of the greater frequency of intimate mother-child dyadic situations, a strong need of both members of the dyad for face-to-face conversations. Endeavors towards intellectual development on the part of mostly highly

Table 3:

The different verbal characteristics in different speech tasks of children living in intact and in broken families

Verbal characteristics of speech task	Family Group	Mean	Dispersion	x^2 test
Picture description	intact	4,45	4,28	31,33 +
Situationality	broken	4,92	5,53	/2/
Circumstances of action	intact	2,19	3,65	27,72 +
	broken	2,37	3,91	/18/
Fragmented sentence	intact	4,35	4,09	27,28 +
	broken	3,74	3,28	/18/
Fairy tale elaboration	intact	0,76	0,43	2,77 +
prompted by questions	broken	0,65	0,48	/1/
Fairy tale reproduction	intact	3,54	2,69	25,70 +
fragmented sentence	broken	3,57	3,14	/14/
Complex sentence	intact	2,57	1,96	8,35 +
	broken	2,88	1,67	/8/
Dialogue	intact	0,03	0,30	12,15 ++
imperative sentence	broken	0,36	0,91	/3/

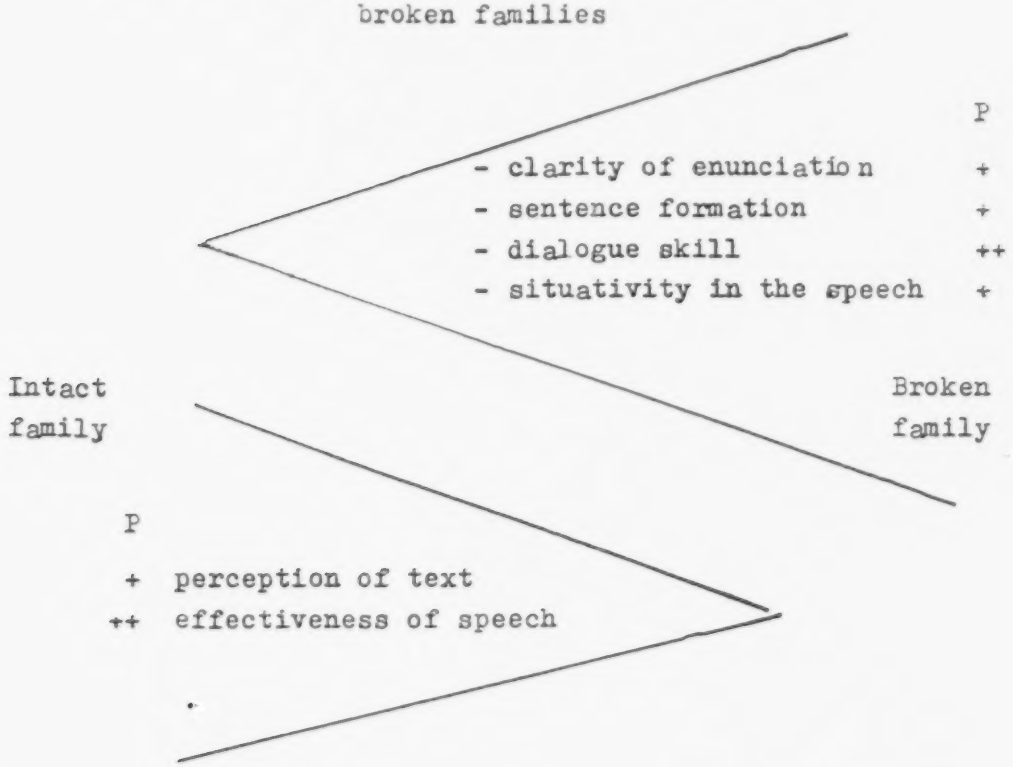
$p < 0.1^{/+/}$
0.05^{+}
0.01^{++}

The effectiveness of speech /type/token ratio/

Speech task	Picture description	Fairy tale reproduction	Dialogue
Family Group			
Intact	0,74	0,70	0,71
Broken	0,33	0,70	0,71

Figure 4.

The different verbal characteristics in different speech tasks of children living in intact and in broken families



less < more
poor < better

P < .05+
.01++

educated mothers. It can be seen in the fact that in broken families children are more often entertained outside the home, with their mother. They are more often taken to interesting activities, to cultural events/movies, puppet shows/ and on excursions. The difference between the intact and broken families is highly significant ($X^2 = 85.32^{***}$).

At the same time, we have found the speech of these children to be less terse, less effective /type/token ratio/, - especially in the descriptive task - which also proves that their greater verbal practice is due primarily to the motive of the importance of emotional verbal contact. In contrast, the speech of children living in intact families is less fluent (e.g., there are more fragmented sentences) but more meaningful and terse (e.g., they grasp and reproduce better the relations of events, the type/token ratio is better in all situations).

The speech of children living in intact families is more effective, more balanced disciplined also in situations demanding contextual speech (picture description, fairy tale reproduction) and in communication situations demanding dialogues; in addition, they make fewer mistakes in fairy tale elaborations prompted by questions. That is to say, according to our investigations, children of intact families perform better in verbal tasks demanding rational thought.

Results of comparative analysis according to gender

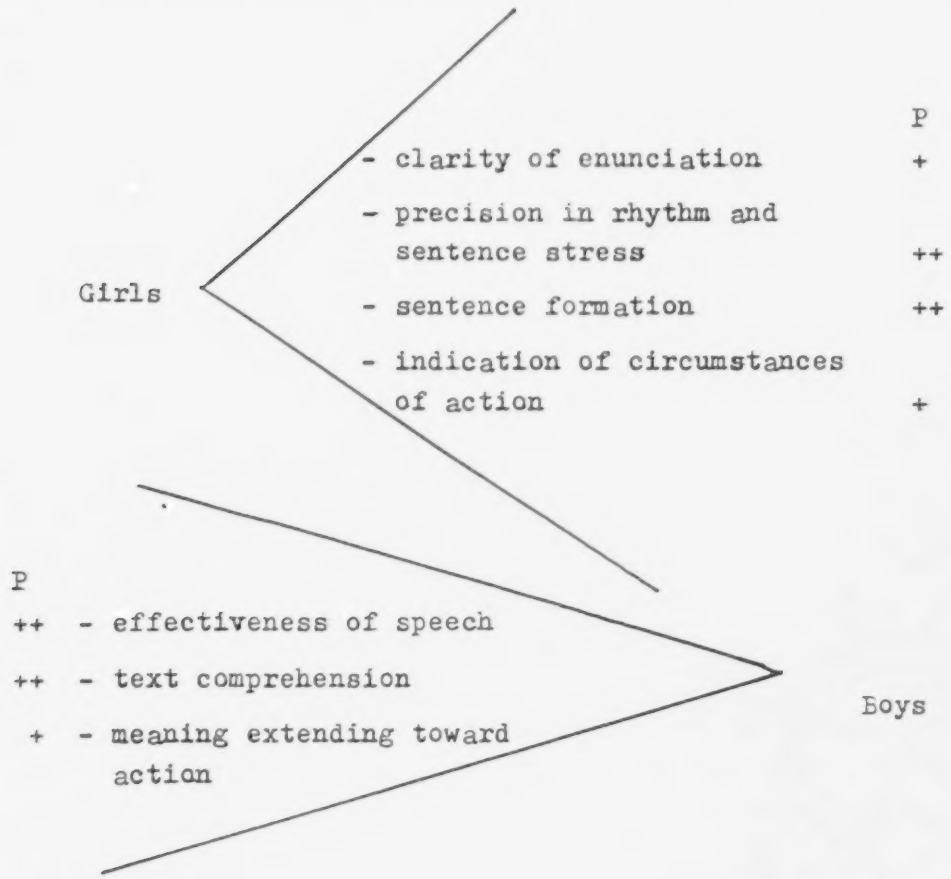
Preschool girls living in intact families performed better as regards speech rhythm, accuracy of sentence stress. In general, their speech was characterized by the use of compiete sentences, by fluency, greater expressiveness (indicating the circumstances of action), and a better dialogic skill (Figure 5).

Boys, on the other hand, performed better in text comprehension. In their case the sphere of meaning of concepts extended more in the direction of action and function; their speech was more terse, more effective (See Figure 4).

The above differences are in accord with the conclusion of investigations concerning differences in parental communicative attitudes, motivation, patience, expectations, according to the child's sex. For example by observations of Buss (1980) the mother

Figure 5.

Differences in the speech characteristics of children living in intact families according to sex



less < more
poor < better

$p < .05^{+}$
$.01^{++}$

shows the same greater responsiveness in the case of a less active daughter and a less active son, as in the case of an active child. The father, however, is often impatient, initiating unpleasant interactions, with an active, inquiring daughter. He is more patient with a less active daughter, and often he gives verbal expression to his appreciation. In the case of an active son, father-child interactions are more dynamic; with a less active son, the father is patient, appreciative.

The mother's and the father's different traditional attitude also are obviously related to conventional experience which is based on the difference in the physiological maturation of the various functions of speech according to sex (e.g., greater emotional charge, a more sensitive desire of interaction in the girls' communication, and the earlier appearance of rational and motor elements in the case of boys). According to Kimball et al. (1980), in broken families both the parent and the child invest great energy in pursuing common activities -- about twice as much as is usual in intact families.

Our results according to the complementer role of parents' communicative attitude and different vocal and verbal behavior of infants and preschoolers in intact families, does understandable, that in broken families, the mother's greater need for communication is seen to strengthen the socio-emotive function of speech and, to a certain extent, weaken its socio-cognitive function. And the result of this our examination shows these communicational differences observed in intact families between preschoolers of different sex, disappears entirely in broken families.

In other words, only the traditional socio-emotive attitude of the mother exerts an influence in spite of the fact that she must perform every training function as well. This phenomenon contains the same homogenization in the communication of preschool children as the role representation of adolescents living in broken families that Maria Nemenyi has observed (1989). In view of our results, the above cited Hungarian statistics cannot be considered simply as a typical and unavoidable characteristic of modern family life. On the contrary, even if only our narrow field of investigation with its none the less significant role in the development of personality is considered, its psychic effect must be regarded as a sociological, social psychological problem, and as a developmental psychological task.

REFERENCES

Ainsworth, S., Bell, S. M. (1974) Mother-infant interaction and the development of competence. In E. Conolly, J. Bruner (Eds.),The growth of competence. London: Academic Press. 97-119.

Berko-Gleason, J. B. (1979) Sex differences in the language of children and parents. In: O.K. Garnica, N.L.King(Eds.), Language, children and society. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 149-159.

Bruner, J. S. (1978) The role of dialogue in language acquisition. Lecture of the Max-Planck Gesselschaft.

Brunet, O., Lezine, I. (1958) Le developpement psychologique de la premiere enfance. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Buss, D. M. (1981) Predicting parent-child interactions from children's activity level. Developmental Psychology,17 (1), 59-65.

Camaioni, L. (1979) Child-adult and child-child conversations. An interactional approach. In Ochs-Schieffeline (Eds.) Developmental pragmatics. New York: Academic Press. 325-337.

D'Odorico, L. and Franco, F. (1984) Baby talk in context: Relationship to children's age. Annual Conference of Psychology, Lancester, 1984.

Freedle, R. O., Lewis, M. (1977) Prelinguistic Conversations. In M. Lewis, L.A. Rosenblum(Eds.), Interaction, conversation and development of language, the origins ofbehaviour series. Vol. 5. New York: John Wiley. 157-185.

Friedlander, B. Z., Jacobs, A. C., Davis, B. B., Wetstone, H. S. (1972) Time ampling analysis of infant's natural language environments in the home. Child Development, 42,730-740.

Giles, H., Powesland, P. F. (1975) Speech style and social evaluation. The influence of the receiver. London: Academic Press. 137-153.

Gouveia, R. et al. (1988) Involvment of portuguese fathers in the care of their children during the first year of life. Third European Conference on Developmental Psychology of ISSBD. Budapest 1988.

Horna, J. and Lupri, E. (1987) Fathers' participation in work family life and leisure: a Canadian experience. In Ch. Lewis and O'Brien, M. (Eds.), Reasseasing fatherhood, New observations on fathers and the modern family. London: Sage Pub.

Kozma Tamas (1975) Hatranyos helyzet. Egy oktatasugyi problema tarsadalmi vetuletei. Budapest: Tankönyvkiado.

Kreppner, K. (1989) The exploration of baselines in family development: Examples from a longitudinal study. Paper presented at the Conference "Changing family patterns and gender roles in Europe". Rome May 24-27, 1989.

Mehrabian, A., Skionzky, Sh. (1974) A theory of affiliation. Lexington: Lexington Books D. C. Heath and Comp.

New, R. S., Benigni, L. (1987) Italian fathers and infants cultural constraints on parental behavior. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), The father's role. Cross-cultural perspectives. London: LEA Publishers.

Rebelsky, F., Hanks, Ch. (1971) Father's verbal interaction with infants in the first three months of life. Child Development, 42, 63-68.

Rondal, J. A. (1980) Father's and mother's speech in early language development. Journal of Child Language, 7, 353-369.

Sugar Kadar,J. (1984) Die Vokalisation des Saunglings und deren Beziehung zur Empathie der Eltern. Z. Psychol. Leipzig. Suppl. 6, 65-70.

Sugar Kadar, J. (1986) A beszedfejlödes utjai - besz edfejlesz tes az ovodaban. Pszichologia - neve loknek. Tankönyvkiado .

Sugar Kadar, J. (1987) Early phases of speech development. Italian-Hungarian Psychology Symposium, Cassino, 1987.

Sugar Kadar, J., Benigni, L. (1988) Mothers and fathers and their 9-12 months olds: Educational strategies and language. Third European Conference on Developmental Psychology of ISSBD. Budapest.

Sugar Kadar, J., György, I. M. (1989) A szülö-gyerek korai kommunikacio jellemzöinek összefüggese a szocialis kompetencia fejlödesevel. MPT IX. Orszagos Konferenciaja. Budapest.

Wiesenfeld, A. R., Malatista, C. Z., Loach, L. L. (1981) Differential parental response to familiar and unfamiliar infant distress signals. Infant Behavior and Development, 4(3), 281-295.

Kimball, W. H., Stewart, R. B., Coger, R. D., Burgess, R. L. (1980) A comparison of family interaction in single - versus two-parentabusine-, neglectful and control families. In T.M. Field, S. Goldber, D. Stern, A.M. Sostek (Eds.), High-risk infants and children, adult and peer interactions. London: Academic Press. 43-60.

Nemenyi, M. (1989) A csaladra vonatkozo reprezentaciok. Manuscript.

Pirkko Nieminen
The University Hospital of Tampere, Peadiatric Clinics

EARLY MOTHER-CHILD COMMUNICATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

Interaction with adults has become one of the main topics in research on child language acquisition and development of language. (French & Mcclure 198l; Lewis & Rosenblum 1976; Snow & Ferguson 1977, Wells l985). However there are only few studies in which the acquisition, and interaction processes have been studied longitudinally observing the same subjects or adult-child pairs for a longer time. This study was planned to give ecologically valid information about child language acquisition and the patterns or communication between mother and child during language acquisition process.

THE PROBLEM

The aim of this study is l) to describe the development of children´s speech and language during the first two years of life 2) to describe the development of verbal communication between mother and child 3) to study the correlations between communication, language and cognitive development of the child.

THE DATA AND THE METHOD

The empirical data comes from a follow-up study of ten ,middle-class Finnish, mother-child dyads, whose everyday activities have been observed in their natural setting during the first two years of life. The observations were carried out once a month for half an hour periods in the homes of the children. The activities of the participants were manually recorded using the method or narrative observation of the action episodes. The conversations between, mothers and children were tape-recorded. The primary material was written out with the transcript of the conversations alongside each particular action episode. The development of the children´s, language was analyzed from this observational data as well as the variables describing the patterns of communication.

The communication pattern was analyzed

1) by its **structural features** (duration of communication episodes frequency of utterances, frequency of initiations of the participants and frequency of conversational exchanges
2) by the content of the utterances (naming, asking repeating etc.) and
3) the **qualitative features o**f interaction (co-operation, mood, fluency and variety of interaction, mother´s sensitivity and adaptation) were judged by the observers.

The unit of analysis was utterance, which was defined as the smallest meaningful piece of the speech.

The development of children´s vocabulary, grammar and use of language was analyzed from the conversations during observations. The mental and motor development of the children were tested by the Bayley Scales of Infant Development (BSID) at three month intervals. The parent also filled questionnaires about the time spent in different everyday activities. Children´s vocabulary and play activities were followed up also by using a diary method.

SOME RESULTS

As an example of the results of this study three topics concerning the three aims of this study will be pointed out next and some remarks about prediction, of development will be made.

Language acquisition

The development of child language was analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The results concerning the acquisition of language in Finnish, speaking children found in earlier cross sectional (Lyytinen 1976, Hakulinen 1981) or longitudinal (Toivainen, 1980) studies line out very similar,general phases of the language acquisition process as in this study. The only difference here is that everything in my data seems to happen a little bit earlier: first words, sentences, and different aspects of grammar seem to appear into children´s speech earlier in my material than in previous studies. This is perhaps not because my children are more clever, but because of the method of gathering the material. When children are observed in their everyday activities at home they obviously act very

naturally which is not always true in laboratory experiments. Another feature to mention about child language development is that there were no statistically significant differences between girls and boys in the speed of language acquisition.

Development of communication

The development of verbal communication between (mother and child shows some interesting features. In Table 1 we see the development of structural features of communication.

Table 1. The structural features of communication

Age months	Frequency utterances/ episodes	Duration of episode minutes	Frequency of turns/episode total	reciprocal	Initiations/episode mother	child
1	IO.2	7.5	5.8	3.6	3.3	2.4
3	5.6	7.7	5.4	3.7	3.1	2.2
6	18.3	10.4	8.3	5.9	5.2	3.0
9	10.6	10.7	5.9	4.6	3.4	2.4
12	22.5	10.6	8.3	7.4	4.4	3.9
15	31.7	10.8	7.9	6.3	4.1	3.8
18	17.4	I5.0	I0.3	9.4	5.O	5.3
21	12.1	12.5	8.9	8.4	4.1	4.9
24	10.3	9.1	5.4	4.9	2.5	3.0
Total	15.9	9.8	6.9	5.5	3.9	3.1

The volume of communication (frequency of utterances, number of episodes) and the reciprocity of communication (number of turns, initiations) seem to change and develop curvilinearly during the first two years of life so that there seems to be higher frequencies around the 18th month at the time of strong development in language abilities.

There were also small changes in the qualitative aspects of communication (mood, sensitivity etc.) as the child gets older - the change being into more positive direction. There were no major

differences between boys and girls in the communication variables.

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

If we then look at the correlations between language and communication we can see rather high correlations between the structural features of communication and different aspects of language development. There are some variables which have significant correlation to all measures of language development: frequency of utterances both mother and child, child´s initiations and length of utterances. It is not only mother´s speech and verbal model that is important in child language acquisition: the child´s own role as an active participant in communication is very important as well.

The results given in Table 1 are calculated over the whole data, so you cannot see the age differences in the correlations.

Deeper analyses of the correlations between communication patterns and language development show that the correlations are very much age specific: during the first six months the highest correlations are found between language development and the volume of mothers' speech as well as qualitative aspects of communication. Around twelve months the reciprocity of communication, mothers activating utterances and child's own utterances become more relevant to the development of language. And at the end of second year the child's own role as a communicator and partner in the dialogue becomes the most important thing concerning language development.

Interesting question in early language learning is of course: can you predict communication or language development e.g.from six months to two years. To answer this question correlations from development variables were calculated between different age groups.The results are in Table 3.

The correlations in motor development variables are very high from the third month on, as well as in mental development variables from sixth month on. Language development does not have systematic significant correlations before 12th month.

Table 2. Correlations between structural variables of communication and variables of child language development

	Variables measuring language development						
	Total index	grammar	volume of speech	vocabulary	level of verbal utter.	verbal reactions	functions
Duration of episode	.09	.05	.10	.04	.15*	11	.37**
Initiations: mother	.01	.07	.12*	.05	.03	.02	.25**
child	.18**	.12*	.24**	.12*	.19**	.15*	.43**
Turns: total	.09	.02	.20**	.03	.12*	.09	.38**
reciprocal	.16**	.10	.26**	.10	.19**	.17**	.43**
Talking alone: mother	-.22**	-.21**	-.11	-.21**	-.22**	-.20**	-.10
child	-.06	-.06	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.06	-.00
The length of utterances							
mother	.00	.02	.09	.04	.03	.01	.09
child	.69**	.71**	.48**	.72**	.54**	.58**	.51**
The frequency of utterances							
mother	.26**	.19**	.35**	.19**	.25**	.24**	.51**
child	.50**	.44**	.53**	.43**	.40**	.39**	.67**
Total frequency of utterances (mother and child)	.10	.06	.14*	.08	.12*	.12*	.13*

** p(0.001) r>.15 * p(0.01) r>.12

Table 3. Correlations of communication and development variables between 3,6,12,18 and 24 months

Age / months which are compared	Variables utterances (f) mother	child	communication quality	volume	development mental	motor	language
3 and 6 mo	.56*	.63*	.43	-.12	.25	.54	69*
3 and 12 mo	-.37	-.40	.08	.06	-.02	.77**	.05
3 and 18 mo	.12	.46	.13	.06	.33	.63*	.11
3 and 24 mo	.16	.39	.48	.15	.02	.73*	.43
6 and 12 mo	.14	.02	.31	.14	.61*	.62*	.41
6 and 18 mo	.11	.47	.53	.03	.99**	.96*	.41
6 and 24 mo	.29	.12	.85**	.05	.66**	.62*	.53*
12 and 18 mo	.55	.30	.40	.76*	.61*	.63*	.57*
12 and 24 mo	.39	.31	.56*	.06	.99**	.99**	.86*
18 and 24 mo	.55	.62*	.79**	.04	.66*	.63*	.61*

p (1%) = .746 ** p > .01

p (5%) = .564 * p > .05

Elina Haavio-Mannila
Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki

FAMILY STRUCTURE AND FAMILY LIFE OF FINNISH WOMEN

FAMILISM GIVES WAY TO INDIVIDUALIZATION

The nuclear family composed of parents and their children is in Europe the 'normal' family type. However, other kinds of family structures are increasing as a result of declining fertility and marriage rates, growth in unmarried cohabitation, divorce, single parenthood, living together of homosexual couples, and so on. There is also a growing ideological shift from familism to individualization of family members as Riitta Jallinoja has shown (Haavio-Mannila, Jallinoja & Strandell 1984).

In the Finnish official statistics **families** consist of parent(s) and their children (only two generations) or of a married couple of adults. Cohabiting couples are included only if there are common children. **Families with children** include children under 18 years of age. Families include only those members who live together. Non-family population includes, among others, single representatives of the third generation, persons living alone and childless cohabiting couples.

The number of families consisting of married or cohabiting couples with children under 18 years declined from 1970 to 1985 (Haataja 1989). Also the number of single parent families with children under 18 years - which grew until 1980 - has declined during the first part of the 1980s. Perhaps this is a result of better birth control techniques which

have diminished the number of unwanted children born outside marriage.

A growing tendency can be seen in the number of other kinds of families and households: married couples without children, households of single persons, and other families and households.

In this seminar, it is important here to look at the situation from the point of view of the child. Table 1 shows how children and families with children under 18 years were distributed into different family types according the Finnish household survey in 1985. A large majority, 80 percent of children, were living in nuclear families composed of a married or cohabiting couple and their children. Seven percent were living with a single parent, and 13 percent in other kinds of families.

Table 1. Distribution of Finnish children and families with children under 18 years according to family type in 1985, %

Family type	Children	Families with children
Couple with children		
- all under 7 years	18	22
- youngest under 7 years	26	18
- youngest 7-12 years	22	20
- youngest 13-16 years	9	10
- youngest 17-24 years	5	7
Single parent	7	9
Couple, children and elderly	3	3
Other family with children	10	12
Total	100	100

Source: Haataja 1989, Figures 8 and 9. Based on Household Survey Data.

Changes in the family structures can be seen in the results of an interview study on Finnish women aged 18 to 64 years conducted in 1982 and 1988 (Lonka et al. 1989). The proportion of married or cohabiting mothers of nuclear families of all women declined from 56 percent (N=500) in 1982 to 49 percent (N=546) in 1988. Mothers of nuclear families have thus become a minority among adult women. This is a re-

markable crossing of the 50 percent line, the border line of a 'critical mass'.

The decline in the prevalence of nuclear families has been due to several demographical phenomena. According to the surveys on Finnish women in 1982 and 1988 mentioned above, the proportion of married or cohabiting women with an 'empty nest' grew from 18 to 23 percent. Living alone as a single woman grew from 14 to 16 percent. There was an increase from 4 to 6 percent in the proportion of women living in their parental home as well; this may be related to the increasing number of women in education and the high expense of separate housing.

The proportion of single mothers of women decreased from 9 in 1982 to 6 percent in 1988. This corresponds to the data from official statistics.

The decline of the nuclear family was thus not due to an increase in having children without a husband. The decline was caused by not having children nor establishing marital or cohabiting relationships. These results indicate that individualization is increasing in Finland. Familism is not a major social trend here.

COHABITATION

The increasing unmarried cohabitation in the Nordic countries has been widely documented (Trost 1979, Lewin 1979; Aromaa, Cantell and Jaakkola 1981; Jaakkola 1989a). It is common that a couple lives together for some years before marriage, generally until a baby will be or is born.

Cohabitation started to increase in Finland in the 1970s. In 1968-1974 one third of new couple relationships were based on unmarried cohabitation, in

the end of the 1970s already two thirds. In 1978, at the time of the study by Aromaa et al (1981), 5,1 percent of the population aged 15-64 were cohabiting. Altogether 13 percent of the population 15 years and over had own experiences of living together during some phase of their life.

In 1978 unmarried cohabitation was most common in the youngest age groups, to the same extent in rural and urban areas. When one looked at the newly formed couple relationships, the incidence of cohabitation was not related to age.

Cohabitation was most common in the well-educated groups of population, which according to Aromaa et al. (1981) suggested their growth in the future. That kind of development had been observed in Denmark and Sweden. In the 1970s cohabitation increased particularly in the less educated groups.

During the period studied by Aromaa, Cantell and Jaakkola (1981), in 1968-1979, four fifths of the cohabiting couples, who ended their cohabitation, got married. Young people were more likely to get married whereas the older kept on living in a consensual union. The length of time living together before marriage grew in the seventies from 13 to 25 months on the average.

The rapid growth of cohabitation during the 1980s can be seen in Table 2. As mentioned above, 5,1 percent of Finns aged 15 to 64 were cohabiting without marriage in 1978. By 1987 the percentage had grown to 9,7. Of all couple relationships, 8,1 percent were cohabitation relationships in 1978, by 1987 already 14,8 percent. The proportion of cohabiting persons of all non-married people grew from 12,3 percent to 21,8 percent.

Table 2. Cohabitation among people in working age (15-64 years) in Finland 1978-1986

Year	Number of cohabiting persons	Cohabiting persons as percentages of		
		persons aged 15-64	nonmarried persons	persons living as couples
1978	163 000	5,1	8,1	12,3
1979	184 000	5,7	9,0	13,5
1980	200 000	6,2	9,8	14,3
1981	214 000	6,6	10,3	15,3
1982	227 000	6,9	10,9	15,8
1983	235 000	7,1	11,2	16,3
1984	263 000	7,9	12,2	18,2
1985	283 000	8,4	12,8	19,9
1986	304 000	9,1	14,0	20,5
1987	324 000	9,7	14,8	21,8

Source: Jaakkola (989b.

The percentage of cohabiting families of all families with children has doubled between 1978 and 1987 (Table 3). Nowadays it is 6,3 percent of families with children under 18 years and 8,3 of families with children under school-age, 7 years.

Even though it is customary that cohabiting couples marry when they expect or get children, a quite large proportion (28,7%) of all cohabiting couples had children under 18 years in 1987. This proportion has kept relatively constant through the years studied.

Table 3. Cohabiting families with children 1978 - 1987

Year	Cohabiting couples with children younger than		Percentage of cohabiting families of all families with children: Children are younger than	
	18 years	7 years	18 years	7 years
	(percentage of all cohabiting couples)			
1978	24,3	16,4	3,0	4,1
1979	28,0	16,6	3,8	4,9
1980	27,8	15,5	4,2	4,9
1981	30,4	19,2	4,8	6,1
1982	30,3	20,0	5,2	6,4
1983	29,6	16,5	5,3	6,2
1984	29,1	18,4	5,9	7,1
1985	29,8	20,1	5,9	7,1
1986	27,8	17,9		
1987	28,7	19,5		

Source: Jaakkola 1989b.

It is possible to analyze the extent of unmarried cohabitation in different social groups on the basis of data from the survey on Finnish women (Lonka et al. 1989).

Cohabitation was in 1988 most common in the youngest age groups. As many as 27 percent of the youngest, that is, women under 24 years, were cohabiting, of those aged 25-34 years 15 percent, and of the older women only 6 percent.

Education, socioeconomic status, and income were connected with cohabitation as well. Cohabitation was most common in the middle educational groups, not in the best educated groups as was the case in 1978 according to Aromaa et al (1981). This may be partly due to the young age of cohabiting women; they have not yet had time to graduate from the college.

When cohabitation was analyzed by social status, the highest proportion of cohabiting women, 18 percent, was found among manual workers (N=119). In both the lower and upper white collar groups (N=210 and 52) the proportion was 13 percent, and among employers

and entrepreneurs, only 9 percent (N=35). Measured by the occupation of the head of the household, too, cohabitation was general in the working class, and in students' families as well. The lower one's own and one's partner's income, the higher the proportion of living in a consensual union.

There were more cohabiting women among those whose central life satisfaction was derived from occupation, work, or studies (19%, N=72) than among those to whom home and family life gave most satisfaction (13%, N=383), or who got their satisfaction mostly from leisure pursuits (6%, N=64).

In the same way as in 1978 according to Aromaa et al (1981), there was no rural - urban difference in the amount of cohabitation. Unmarried habitation was more common in Southwestern than in Northern Finland.

Children are according to Aromaa et al. (1981) the main reason for marriage among cohabiting couples. Consequently, in the data on Finnish women in 1988 (Lonka et al. 1989) only 27 persons of the mothers included the sample (N=297) were cohabiting. Cohabiting mothers were 9 percent of all mothers whereas the proportion of cohabiting women of all women was 13 percent.

These results indicate that among Finnish women of today, cohabitation is part of the life style of young, low-income, working class women who live the developed areas of the country and get their central life satisfaction from work or studies.

SINGLE PARENTHOOD

The proportion of single mothers has decreased since 1950 as a result of declining birth rate in the

older age groups and of increasing life expectancy. In 1950, of all Finnish families (N= 930 545), 14,8 percent consisted of a mother and children and 2,4 percent of a father and children. In 1980 the number of families was 1 218 392 and the percentages 13,2 and 1,9. (Central Statistical Office of Finland, Position of Women 1984, 31.)

According to official statistics the number of single parent families with children under 18 years has developed between 1975 and 1985 as follows:

Year	Number of single parent families	Percentage consisting of mother and children
1975	82 745	87.4
1980	100 359	88.6
1985	99 086	88.2

Source: Haataja 1989, 16, based on Official Statistics of Finland, Population and Housing Census: Household size and structure.

In practice only 75 percent of single mothers with children and 68 percent of single fathers with children were living by themselves, in one-family households in 1985. Of the 'mother and children' single parent households 14 percent included in addition one man (with whom the single mother had no common children), 3 percent one woman, 1 percent others, and 7 percent one or more other families. The corresponding proportions for 'father and children' single parent households were 12 one woman (with whom the single father had no common children), 2 percent one man, 1 percent others, and 16 percent one or more other families.

In the survey on 546 Finnish women in 1988 (Lonka et al. 1989) there were 29 single mothers. They made 5 percent of all women and 9 percent of all mothers included in the study. The proportion corresponds to the proportion of single parent families of all families with children in Finland according to the 1985 census.

Being today a single mother in Finland means mostly that one has a finished marriage behind oneself. More than half of the 29 single mothers in the sample were divorced, one quarter was unmarried, and one in eight was widowed. Single parenthood is thus at present mostly caused by divorce. The increasing divorce rate in Finland in 1930-1987 is shown in a study by Risto Jaakkola (1989a). Due to a reform of the marriage act, the number of divorces increased in 1988 so that the number of divorces was 50,2 percent of the number of new marriages (Table 4).

Table 4. Marriages, divorces and children born in Finland 1950-1988

Year	Marriages		Divorces		Children born alive	
	Number	Per 1000 inhabitants	Number	Percent of new marriages	Number	Percent born outside marriage
1950	34 205	8,5	3 687	10,8	98 065	5,2
1960	32 834	7,4	3 655	11,1	82 129	4,0
1970	40 730	8,8	6 044	14,8	64 559	5,8
1980	29 288	6,1	9 464	32,2	63 064	13,1
1986	25 866	5,2	9 878	38,2	60 632	18,0
1987	26 376		10 212	38,7	60 011	
1988	26 522		13 307	50,2	63 041	

Source: Jaakkola 1989b.

On the basis of the development in Sweden, where a similar reform of the marriage act as in Finland was made already in 1974, Jaakkola (1989a, 15) assumes that the increase in the divorce rate will soon level off.

According to Jaakkola's sample study of 465 divorce cases in Helsinki court in the beginning of 1988, demands on the custody of children were made in 175 of the cases. In 58 percent of the cases the mother demanded the custody of the children. More than a third, 37 percent, of the parents demanded joint custody, 3 percent asked that children are divided between the parents, and 3 percent demanded that the children were given to tne custody of the father. (Jaakkola 1989a, 39.)

If the parents applied for divorce jointly (N=127), there was a demand for joint custody in 44 percent of the cases. If the mother alone was asking for divorce (N=48), joint custody was demanded only in 17 percent of the cases.

EFFECT OF FAMILY STRUCTURE ON FAMILY LIFE

The family life of married, cohabiting and single mothers in Finland will next be described on the basis of the interviews conducted in 1988 (Lonka et al. 1989). What does it mean to the mother to raise children outside the nuclear family? Does she suffer of not having the 'normal' family as a social support? Is there a great difference between the three types of families?

Unfortunately the interviews of the mothers only superficially touched the life of their children. The study focused on the family and working life situation, preferences, and attitudes of the mothers. But there were some questions referring to childcare, which will be given special attention here.

1. Demography

The age of cohabiting mothers was younger than that of the other mothers (Table 5). Single mothers were the oldest.

Table 5. Demographical characteristics of women in different types of families according to the survey on Finnish women in 1988, %

	Family type				
	Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Single mother	Childless woman	Total
Age					
Under 24	5	15	3	35	19
25-34	42	63	38	18	32
35-49	42	22	35	12	27
50-64	11	-	24	35	22
	100	100	100	100	100
N	239	27	29	247	542
P<.000					
Number of children (mothers)					
1	21	44	62	22	26
2	46	37	28	36	41
3-	33	19	10	42	33
	100	100	100	100	100
N	241	27	29	95	392
P<.001					
Preferred number of children					
1	3	8	21	9	7
2	37	46	36	45	41
3	40	31	18	30	34
4-	20	15	25	16	18
	100	100	100	100	100
N	238	26	28	222	514
P<.037					

The number of children at home was highest in the families of married mothers of whom 21 percent had only one child and 33 percent had three or more children. The corresponding percentages among cohabiting mothers were 44 and 19 percent. The number of children was lowest among single mothers, of whom 62 percent had only one child and 10 percent at least three children.

In congruence with the actual number of children, also the preferred number of children was highest among married mothers, of whom 60 percent would in case of free choice have at least three children. In the group of cohabiting mothers the percentage was 46 and among single mothers 43.

Cohabiting mothers had the youngest children; 78 percent had children under seven years whereas the percentage among married mothers was 60 and among single mothers only 31.

2. Economy

The **education, occupational status and income level** of married mothers was higher than that of cohabiting and single mothers (Table 6).

Table 6. Education, occupation, and characteristics of work of women in different types of families according to the survey on Finnish women in 1988, %

	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Single mother	Childless woman	Total
Education					
Gymnasium or college	38	22	28	40	38
Middle or occupational school	35	48	34	31	34
Primary school	27	30	38	36	28
	100	100	100	100	100
N	240	27	29	245	541
P<.028					
Occupation					
Upper white collar	24	11	7	11	17
Lower white collar	42	44	42	35	39
Worker	18	41	41	21	22
Other	16	4	10	33	22
	100	100	100	100	100
N	239	27	29	244	539
P<.000					
Work history					
Started steadily to work at the age of					
-16	11	12	38	16	15
16-17	28	40	24	24	27
18-20	33	36	14	32	32
21-	26	12	24	21	22
Never worked	2	-	-	7	4
	100	100	100	100	100
N	231	25	29	223	508
P<.033					

Table 6 cont.	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Single mother	Childless woman	Total
Has continuously been employed	34	30	36	38	35
Has stayed at home and taken care of children and home	54	44	21	13	34
Has studied or travelled	5	11	18	23	14
Has been ill or retired	1	4	4	11	6
Has been unemployed	4	11	21	8	7
Has never been employed	2	-	-	7	4
	100	100	100	100	100
N	230	27	28	225	510
P<.000					
Working time					
Work schedule					
Full-time at normal working hours	43	44	52	39	42
Full-time shift work	11	4	24	13	12
Part-time work	13	8	-	15	13
Not employed	33	44	24	33	33
	100	100	100	100	100
N	237	27	29	240	533
P<.042					
Preferred working time while children are small, if one could choose					
Full-time	16	18	37	18	19
Part-time	63	59	44	53	57
Some work sometimes	13	11	4	10	11
No work	8	11	15	19	13
	100	100	100	100	100
N	232	27	27	157	443
ns					
Income					
Own monthly income before taxes, FIM					
-4 000	28	38	27	41	35
4 001-6 000	27	42	45	33	31
6 001+	30	12	21	17	23
No income	15	8	7	9	11
	100	100	100	100	100
N	232	26	29	242	529
P<.102					

Table 6 cont.	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Single mother	Childless woman	Total
Husband's monthly income before taxes, FIM					
-4 000	9	12	..	25	14
4 001-6 000	20	20	..	25	22
6 001+	70	68	..	44	61
No income	1	-	..	6	3
	100	100	..	100	100
N	230	25	..	126	381
P>.000					

Work histories of women in different types of families varied. Single mothers had started permanently to work for pay at a younger age than the others: 62 percent before the age of 18 years. Married mothers had been able to live longest without steady work: only 39 percent had started work before reaching 18 years.

In all three types of families one third of the mothers (as well as 38 percent of childless women) had continuously been employed throughout their working-life time. Married mothers had more commonly (54%) than other mothers (44 and 21%) stayed at home over the legally determined maternity leave period and given care for their children and the home.

The present **work-schedule** of mothers in different types of families is shown in Table 6. Single mothers were most involved in full-time work whereas there are many non-employed cohabiting mothers. Single mothers also preferred full-time work whereas about 60 percent of both the married and cohabiting mothers would prefer part-time work while children are small.

The standard of living was highest in the families of married mothers, in whose homes there were considerably more household conveniences (dish washers, micro wave ovens, videos, home computers etc.) than

in the families of cohabiting and particularly single mothers.

3. Child Care Arrangements

More than one third of the mothers in all three family types had experienced **problems in organizing day-care** for their own children (Table 7).

Table 7. Organization of childcare by women in different types of families according to the survey on Finnish women in 1988, %

	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Single mother	Childless woman	Total
Has experienced problems in organizing day-care for own children	34	41	36	39	36
N	232	27	25	54	338
ns					
Would like to give homecare for children until they are					
at most 1 year	6	27	9	2	7
2-3 years old	38	35	30	30	36
3-7 years old	34	27	39	38	35
more than 7 years	22	11	22	30	22
	100	100	100	100	100
N	227	26	23	56	332
P<.008					
In case of divorce, children should live with the respondent	45	62	76	51	49
- both with her and the father	17	23	5	25	18
- children should be able to choose	36	15	19	24	31
- elsewhere	2	-	-	-	2
	100	100	100	100	100
N	223	26	21	55	325
P<.042					
Would not take a long childcare leave be-it would weaken one's position at work	17	22	14	15	16
N	241	27	29	247	544
P<.000					

Table 7 cont.	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Single mother	Childless woman	Total
Preferences for childcare					
Preferred type of childcare after the parental leave:					
Mother gives care at home P<.000	55	43	41	13	35
Father gives care at home alone or alternates with the mother ns	5	4	6	2	3
Family daycare P<.000	17	28	17	5	12
Daycare center P<.002	12	21	10	4	9
Childminder at home P<.023	7	4	-	2	4
Grandparents or other relatives ns	2	-	3	2	2
No answer	2	-	23	72	35
	100	100	100	100	100
N	241	27	29	247	544

There were some differences in **preferences for the length of time** the mothers would like to provide **home-care** for their children. Of the married mothers 44 percent and of the single mothers 39 would like to care for their children at home at most until they are three years of age whereas the percentage among cohabiting mothers was 62. Cohabiting mothers, who had the youngest children, were not as eager to stay at home as the married and single mothers of older children, who could afford a more romantic view on the 'proper' place of childcare. Cohabiting mothers were less inclined than other mothers to take a long childcare leave because it would weaken their position at work.

Cohabiting mothers had a more favorable attitude to family daycare outside the home and to daycare centers than the other groups of mothers.

In case of divorce the married mothers would more often than other mothers let children choose the parent with whom the children would be going to live. Cohabiting and single mothers would often like to take children into their own custody, but one fourth of them was in favor of a joint custody.

4. Division of Housework and Decision-making in the Family

There was no difference in the **division of childcare tasks** (clothing them up, feeding them, fetching them from daycare and caring for sick children) between the spouses in the families of married and cohabiting mothers (Table 8). The only statistically significant difference was in putting the children to bed. In half of the families of married mothers fathers prepared children to go to sleep as often as mothers. This was the case in only one third of the families of cohabiting mothers.

Table 8. Traditional division of household tasks in families of women in different types of two spouse -families according to the survey on Finnish women in 1988, %

Wife alone	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Childless wife	Total
Prepares breakfast	41	31	30	37
P<.002				
Prepares dinner	55	56	44	52
P<.000				
Cleans the home	46	41	33	42
ns				
Washes the windows	57	63	51	56
ns				
Washes up the dishes	37	41	30	36
ns				
Shops food during the week	40	37	33	38
ns				

Table 8 cont.	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Childless wife	Total
Wife alone				
Shops in the weekends ns	36	22	28	33
Pays regular bills P<.001	17	26	23	21
Makes small repairs at home P<.000	4	-	4	5
Average	37	35	31	36
N	240	27	136	403
Mothers:				
Puts children to bed P<.032	15	23	..	16
Clothes children up ns	22	27	..	22
Feeds the children ns	19	32	..	21
Fetches children from day-care ns	13	14	..	13
Caring for sick children at home ns	41	41	..	41
Average	22	27	..	23
N	151	22	..	173

Other household chores (cooking, washing up, cleaning, shopping etc.) were as well divided between the father and the mother in fairly similar ways in the families of married and cohabiting mothers.

Cohabiting mothers were less satisfied with father's participation in childcare and other housework than married mothers. Twenty-seven percent of cohabiting mothers were dissatisfied with spouse's child-care and 38 percent with his housework whereas the proportions among married mothers were 17 and 18 percent only.

There was more woman-power or matriarchal decision-making on the average in the families of cohabiting

than of married women (Table 9). This was most obvious in decisions concerning the respondent's own working, education of children, buying a car to the

Table 9. Matriarchal decision-making in the families of women in different types of families according to the survey on Finnish women in 1988, %

Wife decides more than the husband on	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Childless wife	Total
Her own working P<.000	70	100	72	73
Number of children P<.000	19	19	16	18
Education of children P<.000	38	54	22	34
Leisure with family P<.022	14	8	15	14
Leisure alone or with friends ns	65	65	73	68
Big purchases like a boat P<.000	2	19	8	5
Buying a car to the wife P<.000	13	19	20	16
Smaller purchases like household machines ns	30	38	26	30
Small shopping for home ns	67	77	60	65
Interior decoration ns	50	66	42	49
Average	37	46	35	39
N	241	26	136	403

wife, and other big purchases like a boat. Number of children, leisure use, interior decoration, small purchases and shopping was decided more similarly in the two types of families.

5. Life satisfaction, happiness, and social support

Family, work and leisure orientations were examined by asking which of the three is the main source of life satisfaction: 1. home and family life, 2. occupation, work, or studies, or 3. leisure activities. These orientations were related to family type. As many as 91 percent of the married mothers got the most life satisfaction from home and family life. Cohabiting mothers were not very different from them: 85 percent received most satisfaction from the family. Family was as important to only 69 percent of the single mothers and 56 percent childless women.

Happiness was measured by questions related to feelings that life at the moment is interesting/boring, happy/unhappy, easy/hard, and not lonely/lonely. Only 7 percent of the respondents found their life to be boring, 4 percent unhappy, 21 percent hard, and 21 percent lonely.

Married mothers were the happiest and single mothers the unhappiest. Single mothers felt themselves particularly often (34%) lonely.

In order to avoid loneliness, single mothers kept tight social contacts to their coworkers and friends of both sexes (Table 10). Childless women had close ties with their female coworkers and friends as well, but they were not as active as single mothers in furthering close connections with male coworkers and friends.

Table 10. Closeness of male and female coworkers and friends, %

The person is close and important 1)	Family type Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Single mother	Childless woman	Total
Best male coworker ns	13	-	31	15	14
Best female coworker P<.006	35	22	52	40	37
Best male friend P<.000	22	31	52	43	33
Best female friend P<.000	76	77	90	85	81
Average	36	32	56	46	41
N	241	24	29	243	531

1) Values 1-2 on a 5-point scale.

6. Attitudes

The survey on Finnish women in 1988 included numerous attitude items. With the help of a factor analysis seven dimensions of attitudes were separated:

1. Marital happiness
2. Desperation
3. Ambiguous feelings about sex
4. Sexual liberalism
5. Feminism
6. Restrictions of life
7. Modern singlehood

The dimensions consisted of the following attitude statements:

1. **Marital happiness** (concerns only those married or cohabiting)

I love my husband.
At the moment my marriage is happy.
My husband is jealous.
Divorce is something I try to avoid as long as possible.

I got married because I loved my husband.
If I could choose again, I would still marry my husband.
Sexual intercourse without love is wrong.

2. **Desperation** (concerns only those married or cohabiting)

My childhood home was happier than my present home.
It is impossible to talk about things that matter to me with my husband.
It is difficult to discuss sexual matters with my spouse.
There is no point in bearing children in this world, as the future is so uncertain.
Men are unable to understand women's emotional life.
As time goes on love turns into a routine.
Cooking should be less complex and less time consuming.

3. **Ambiguous feelings about sex**

(Reversed) Women should not have affairs with married men.
I am jealous.
I like to wear sexy underwear.
Love is very important to me.
I'm afraid of being disappointed in love.
Sex is very important to me.

4. **Sexual liberalism**

In my opinion flirting is fun and harmless.
It is quite possible that an entirely casual sex affair is happy and satisfying to both parties.
One should accept married women's casual affairs.
One should accept married men's casual affairs.

5. **Feminism**

(Reversed) Women's Liberation Movement is useless nonsense.
In my view a paternity leave of the minimum of 2 weeks should be made obligatory.

Men get more easily promoted at work than women.
Fathers should participate in child care by taking half of the permissible parent leave of 2 years instead of mothers taking all of it.
Men get more interesting jobs than women.
Women should keep their own surnames when they get married.
Women should vote for female candidates in elections.
In case of divorce I would rather turn to a female lawyer.
Women's ideas are not taken as seriously as men's ideas in the workplace.

6. **Restrictions of life**

It is financially impossible for me to have the kind of hobbies I would like.
I wish my family had more interests in common.
I wish I had a more active sex life.
I don't have enough time for hobbies.
It annoys me that I don't have more time of my own.

7. **Modern singlehood**

In my view single women have the right to have a child of their own or to adopt one.
Single women have the same right to enjoy sex as those living with a man.
Women have the right to have as fine a car as men.
I usually learn straight away how to use the electrically operated devices and contrivances acquired in our home.
Everyone should live together before getting married.
Clothes should be comfortable more than anything else.

The strength of these attitudes varied in different social groups as shown in the Appendix. The four family types were also connected with these attitude dimensions (Table 11).

Table 11. Attitudes toward marriage, sexuality, feminism, time, and singlehood. The lower the mean, the stronger the attitude.

Attitude	Family type				
	Married mother	Cohabiting mother	Single mother	Childless woman	Total
Married and cohabiting women:					
Marital happiness	13,6	15,3*	..	13,8	13,8
Desperation	24,2	23,7	..	23,6	24,0
N	241	27	..	124	393
All women:					
Ambiguous feelings about sex	17,6*	16,0	18,3	16,8*	17,2
Sexual liberalism	9,9**	10,8	11,7	10,7	10,4
Feminism	24,5	23,8	25,0	24,4	24,5
Restricted life	15,7	13,5*	14,7	16,2*	15,8
Support of single women's rights	13,6*	12,4*	13,7	13,2	13,4
N	241	27	29	247	544

Married mothers and childless wives were happier in their marriage than cohabiting mothers.

Cohabiting mothers had most ambiguous feelings about sex.

Married women were not as liberal in their attitudes toward sex as the other groups of women.

Cohabiting mothers felt themselves most restricted in their activities due to time pressure and lack of resources. Childless women had least restricted life.

Cohabiting mothers supported the rights of single women and were in favor of modern conveniences more than the other groups whereas married mothers were least in favor of them.

There was no statistically significant connections between family type and desperation nor feminism. In summary, the attitudes of women representing the four family types can be characterized in the following way:

Married mothers scored high on the dimensions of marital happiness, non-ambiguous feelings about sex, and sexual conservatism. Cohabiting mothers were not happy in their couple relationships, their life was restricted by time pressure and lack of resources, and they supported the rights of single women. Single mothers did not differ from other mothers in a statistically significant way on any of the attitude dimensions. Childless women had ambiguous feelings about sex and their life was not restricted by lack of time or other resources.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

There has been a great increase in the number of divorces and unmarried cohabitation in Finland during the last twenty years. More than one fifth of the children are born outside wedlock, and every second marriage ended in divorce in 1988. But single parenthood is in many cases only temporary, and a great majority (78%) of children lived in 1985 in traditional nuclear families composed of a married or cohabiting couple and their children. Seven percent of children were living with a single parent who in 88 percent of the cases was the mother. Fifteen percent of children were living in other kinds of families (for example, three generations families).

According to official statistics from the year 1985, nine percent of families with children were single parent families. In six percent of families with children the parents were cohabiting without mar-

riage. In the survey data from 1988 analyzed in this paper, ten percent of the mothers were single and nine percent cohabiting. The survey data is thus quite representative of the total population.

Family life and attitudes of married mothers, cohabiting mothers and single mothers were compared on the basis of the interview data. It was found out that compared with the other types of mothers married mothers had many children and they also preferred to have many children. They had a relatively high education and occupational status, and income. Married mothers had entered working life at a later age than the other mothers and had stayed at home longer when children were small.

Married mothers preferred maternal daycare at home for children after the parental leave. Their husbands helped with putting children to bed, and they were satisfied with husband's participation in household work. They were happily married and conservative in their attitudes toward sexuality.

Cohabiting mothers were younger, less educated, and had lower socioeconomic status and income than married mothers. They had smaller and fewer children. They preferred entering work sooner after childbirth and were more in favor of municipal family daycare and daycare centers than married mothers. In the family they made many decisions alone. Cohabiting mothers were not very happy in their couple relationship as legally married mothers. They suffered from lack of time and other resources, and supported single women's rights.

Single mothers were older and had similar educational and social status but a little higher income than cohabiting mothers. The household equipment in their home was much more limited than in the homes of married and cohabiting mothers.

Single mothers had started to work for pay at a younger age than the others. Three fourths of them worked full-time, and they also preferred full-time working hours while children are small. They had fewer and older children than women living in couple relationships. Single mothers had many contacts with same and cross-sex coworkers and friends. One third of them felt themselves lonely (of all the interviewees only 21 percent). The attitudes of single mothers did not deviate from those of the other mothers.

Family life of married, cohabiting and single mothers was found to be fairly similar. Married mothers were happier and more traditional than cohabiting and single mothers. Cohabiting and single mothers relied more on collective child-care arrangements than married mothers, and preferred them as well.

The temporary nature of cohabitation and single parenthood and the small differences in the family life style and attitudes of married, cohabiting and single mothers make me believe that family structure is not a very important factor in determining the quality of family life. It is important to acknowledge the existense of the variety of family structures and patterns in modern society. One has to learn to cope with the situation so that children can grow up harmoniously in different types of families.

APPENDIX

Variation of attitudes by social background

The two first dimensions, marital happiness and desperation in relation to the husband and the world, were based on questions referring to women living in couple relationships. The distribution of women's reactions to these attitude clusters will be analyzed in the data on married or cohabiting women only.

Marital happiness was statistically significantly associated with having a low income of one's own and having the socioeconomic status of an employer or entrepreneur (farmer), not of an upper white collar employee.

Marital happiness was high among women married to farmers. Wives finding central life satisfaction from home and family life were also happily married.

Of the other background factors, neither age, education, work schedule, family life stage, type of community nor geographical area had any significant connection with the quality of marriage.

Desperation in the relationship to the husband and the world in general was common among the older and the less educated wives. Desperation was not significantly connected with occupation, work schedule, nor income among the interviewed women.

Stage in the family life cycle was not connected with desperation. Wives married to or cohabiting with husbands whose incomes were low and who were farmers, not managers nor upper white collar employees scored high on the desperation dimension. Desperate wives had larger than or equal incomes as their husbands. They did not find their central life satisfaction from home and family life; it came from either work or leisure pursuits.

Living outside the capital region, particularly in the countryside was connected with desperation in the relationship to the husband and the world as well.

Sum scale scores on the five other dimensions are analyzed for nonmarried as well as married interviewees.

Anxious sexiness, considering love and sex as important things in life, but being afraid of disappointments in these spheres of life, was connected with young age, having a high education, being full-time employed, or a student, but very rarely a pensioner. Income was not connected with this attitude dimension.

Not being married, and if married, not having children aged seven years and over was typical to the anxiously sexy women. If they were married, they were often married to a student, very seldom to a pensioner. The husbands of these women had relatively high income. The anxious sexiness of married or cohabiting women often was connected with unequal incomes of the spouses. The sexy wives either had a smaller or a larger income than the husband, seldom an equal income with him. Source of central life satisfaction was not associated with this attitude cluster.

Women focusing on love and sex and worrying about these things often lived in the capital area, not in a rural community.

Sexual liberalism did not vary according to age. It increased systematically with education. Employed women were more liberal than nonemployed women. Sexual liberalism had no significant connection with occupational status. Retired women were least liberal.

Sexual liberalism was more common among nonmarried and than married women. Particularly married women without children at home were conservative in their attitudes toward sexual behavior. Farmers' wives as well as wives of low income husbands were least liberal in their sexual attitudes. Women finding their central life satisfaction from occupation, work or studies were considerably more liberal than those who derived their life satisfaction mostly from home and family life.

Sexual liberalism was more common in the capital area than in other towns and especially in rural communities. Women in Southern Finland were the most liberal, those in Western Finland most conservative in their attitudes toward sexuality.

Feminist attitudes were characteristic to older women. Women with either a low or a high education were more feministic than those with a middle level education. Occupation, work schedule nor income had no connection with feminist attitudes.

Neither were marital status, stage in the family life cycle, husband's occupation, his income nor the relative income of the spouses associated with the strength of the feminist attitudes among women. Women who got their central life satisfaction from occupation, work or studies were more feministic than women getting their life satisfaction mostly from family life or from leisure activities.

Feminism was strongest among women living either in the capital area or in the rural communities, weakest in other towns. Women in Southern and Middle

Finland supported feminist ideas more than women in Northern Finland.

Slavery of work, not having enough time of one's own, increased with age. This attitude dimension was not connected with education, occupation, work schedule, nor own income.

Neither did the slavery of work vary according to marital status. It was connected to stage in the family life cycle: women with children under seven years of age were working 'like slaves' more than other women. This attitude dimension had no significant connection with husband's income. Farmers' wives most often felt that they had not time enough for their own use. Slavery of work was not connected with the source of central life satisfaction.

Neither did type of community nor geographical area correlate with slavery of work.

The seventh attitude dimension, **support of single women's rights** was characteristic on the other hand to the oldest, 50 to 64 year old women and to the youngest, 18 to 24 year old women.

University educated women were less in favor of it than those having got a lower level education. Employed women, particularly those belonging to the working class, women with relatively low own gross income, that is, 4001-6000 FIM per month (not those with the highest incomes, nor those having no income of their own) supported single women's rights.

As expected, married women did not support singlehood among women as much as nonmarried women. Women married to managers and upper white collar employees were least supportive to single women's rights. Singlehood was least supported by women whose husbands' gross incomes exceeded 10000 FIM per month. Wives with higher incomes than their husbands were most in favor of singlehood.

REFERENCES

Aromaa, K., Cantell, I. and Jaakkola, R. Avoliitto. Tutkimuksia avoliiton yleisyydestä ja yleistymisestä.(Unmarried cohabitation. Studies on frequency and expansion of unmarried cohabitation). Helsinki: Oikeuspoliittisen tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja 49, 1981.

Boh, K. et al. Changing Patterns of European Family Life. A Comparative Analysis of 14 European Countries. London and New York: Routledge 1989.

Central Statistical Office of Finland. Statistical surveys 72: Position of Women. Helsinki 1984.

Haataja, A. Preliminary data from the research project on the utilization of statistical materials in family policy planning. Helsinki: Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 1989.

Haavio-Mannila, E., Jallinoja, R. and Strandell, H. Perhe, työ ja tunteet. Ristiriitoja ja ratkaisuja. (Family, work, and emotions. Conflicts and solutions). Helsinki: WSOY 1984.

Jaakkola, R. Avioero. Lainuudistuksen ensimmäinen vuosi. Tutkimus Helsingin raastuvanoikeuteen tehdyistä avioerohakemuksista. (The first year after a low reform. A study on divorce application in the Helsinki city court).Oikeuspoliittisen tutkimuslaitoksen julkaisuja 94, 1989a.

Jaakkola, R. Unpublished data on divorces and cohabitation. Helsinki: Ministry of Justice, 1989b.

Lewin, B. Om ogift samboende i Sverige med tonvikt på samtida förhållanden. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Sociologica Upsaliensia 15, 1979.

Lonka, S., Markkula, M-L. and Tuomi, A. Suomalainen nainen työssä, kotona ja omillaan (The Finnish woman at work, at home, and by herself). A-lehdet Oy:n tutkimus Suomalainen nainen 1989. Helsinki: A-lehdet 1989.

Trost, J. Unmarried cohabitation. Vesterås: International Library 1979.

Katalin Donga
Institute of Psychology
Eötvös University of Budapest

EXPERIENCE WITH THE HOME INVENTORY FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN HUNGARY: FAMILY BACKGROUND, SCHOOL ADAPTATION AND ACHIEVEMENT

In this paper I would like to report on the experiences gained with the Elementary School Version of the HOME Interview and Observation, in a study concerning the cognitive outcome of extremely low birthweight children (b.w. ≤1000 grams) in the lower grades of the general school. My experiences concerned three aspects of the Inventory:
1. Properties of the Inventory as an instrument for the assessment of the developmental quality of the home environment, as indicated by empirical findings;
2. Family dimensions that seemed to alter the meaning of the total HOME score, as they were proclaimed in observations; and
3. The potential of the HOME test as an instrument for educational consultative practice.

The Elementary School Version of the HOME Inventory (Caldwell & Bradley 1984) was developed in 1985, following the establishment of the Infant and Preschool Versions. The purpose the authors, B.M. Caldwell and her colleagues, had in mind when constructing the instrument was primarily to produce an index of the developmental quality of the home environment that was more sensitive than SES. This they thought to achieve through tapping developmentally relevant processes in the home; that is through the study of what kind of developmentally relevant experiences does the home facilitate or makes possible to take place. Secondly, they wished to assess several constituent dimensions of the home, which contribute to its global quality. This way one could be able to establish differences among homes characterized by the same global measure as expressed by the total HOME score, in a similar way as the IQ profile establishes differences among people with the same IQ.

The value of such an assessment for both research and practice is obvious: in research it could be employed for matching empirical and control groups on the basis of the homes´ developmental quality by means of a more sensitive measurement. Such an instrument could potentially also be employed to assess the differential characteristics of adaptive home environments for different demographical, sociological, ecological etc. groups. Such an assessment is needed if the transactional view of development is to be put in force in research. The transactional model proved to be more powerful in explaining developmental phenomena than the

previous, -main effect, and interactionist- models of development. The transactional model views good developmental outcome as a result of a succession of adequate environment - organism matches, where matching, certainly in the early development of the child is a result of an effort on the part of the caretakers to shape the child´s environment so that it adapts to its organismic and developmental characteristics.

On the other hand the HOME Inventory could yield a measurement on the basis of which the strengths and weaknesses of the home environment of a child with actual difficulties in cognitive performance could be established and areas of intervention could be provisionally mapped out. The HOME test has also been suggested useful in testing the efficiency of intervention programs. Findings of earlier psychometric studies carried out on the HOME Inventory's earlier Infant and Preschool Versions demonstrated good psychometric properties, and reports repeatedly stressed the Inventory´s easy administration: these practical considerations also encouraged us to test the qualities of the Elementary School Version.

The power of the HOME assessments to predict IQ as compared to that of SES

I employed the Elementary School Version in a study concerning the cognitive outcome of extremely low birthweight children. The experimental group in this study consisted of 33 children born between 1974 and 1979 in Budapest, with or under a 1000 grams, and treated in the Central Maternity Care Ward after having been released from Intensive Care Units. Because of major sensory and mental handicaps five children were excluded from the present investigation. The average birthweight was 928,6 grams, with a ratio of boys and girls being 7 to 21. The control group consisted of 26 children born between 1975 and 1978 with a birthweight between 1000 and 2500 grams, and with a negative record of pre-, or perinatal complications. These children were randomly selected from the turnover of a Premature-Ward of a municipal hospital. In this way HOME test data were gained with two groups both characterized by perinatal biological risks, but with one having a significantly graver perinatal risk record than the other. As indices of cognitive status, the Budapest-Binet Intelligence test and teachers reports were used. These latter mentioned substandard performance in any major subjects such as maths, spelling or Hungarian language and literature. Marks which the child attained at the end of the 4th grade were also given.

RESULTS

1. Socio-economic status did not separate the two groups, yet the total HOME score did. The homes of e.l.b.w. children provided a lower level of stimulation and a less suitable physical as well as emotional environment.

Differential scales included "Emotional responsiveness", "Active stimulation", "Growth fostering materials", and "Physical environment". It is unclear whether this ability of the HOME test comes from its capacity to measure those home processes which mediate SES influences, and thus pointing out homes of poorer quality, or from the fact that it grasps differences stemming from adaptive efforts to match the different developmental characteristics of the children concerned. While differences in "Physical environment" obviously support the earlier assumption, differences in the other three home dimensions could be suggestive of either.

2. The predictive power of the HOME score as to IQ was high and of the same magnitude in the two groups, thus giving a new validation of the test. However, these predictions were not stronger than that of SES, or that of a combined SES - total HOME score index. In this age group and in these samples the total HOME score was not an expedient index of the quality of the home environment as compared to SES.

The predictive power of the total HOME score as to IQ in the two groups:

e.l.b.w.	r =.56	p< .005
l.b.w.	r = .66	p< .OOl

Strengths of prediction on IQ made on the basis of the total HOME score, SES and a combined SES-HOME index:

e.l.b.w. group:		
HOME-IQ	r = .56	p< .005
SES -IQ	r = .66	p< .OOl
(HOME-SES)-IQ	r = .64	p< .Ol
l.b.w. group:		
HOME-IQ	r = .66	p< .OOl
SES -IQ	r = .64	p< .OOl
(HOME-SES)-IQ	r = .76	p< .OOl

Unfortunately, marked differences in the ecology of the two groups, and the resultant difficulties in the interpretation of such data prevented us from making comparisons of the predictive strength of the various HOME subscales as to IQ. However, it is a task of future research to study the differential predictive power of various dimensions concerning the homes of e.l.b.w. children as compared to l.b.w. children, as well as to look at the specific characteristics of l.b.w. groups as compared to normal birthweight groups.

3. HOME - SES correlations were greatly different for the two groups. In the control group the magnitude of relationships was small, and only on a

tendency level. These results might again suggest either an adaptive aspect, that would point out that in the extremely low birthweight group the biological and developmental state of children is more closely associated with the SES of the parents, or that low SES is more closely associated with a non-adaptive, lower level of stimulation in the homes, or both. On the other hand this finding might be also an artifact, resulting from the heterogeneity of the extremely low birthweight group in terms of SES and home processes than the low birthweight group in the sample.

The HOME-SES correlations for the two groups:
e.l.b.w. $r = .67$ $p<.001$
l.b.w. $r = .30$ $p<.08$

4. Partial correlations, accordingly, were again in disagreement in the two groups. For the low birthweight group the total score had separate and reasonable predictive power as to IQ, after partialling out SES-bound effects. In the e.l.b.w. group however, the HOME total score had no predictive power on its own, independently from SES. SES took away most of the HOME data variations, and the remaining variation did not explain variations in IQ. This however, might be due to the presence of children in this group with significant brain damage, where family effort was reflected in the fact, that despite of their grave cognitive deficits these children were able to meet the requirements necessary for the attendance of general school.

To sum up the findings we can say that the total HOME score proved to be a good predictor of IQ. However, in this age group it no longer gave a superior measure to SES as an index of the quality of the home environment. On the other hand the HOME test was able to establish differences in HOME - SES relationships in the two groups, opening up new areas of study regarding relationships of environment-organism-development, as well as to distinguish between two groups with different biological and developmental characteristics and possibly with different levels of stimulation.

Home dimensions that seemed to alter the meaning of the total HOME score

During the administration of the test in the homes of extremely low birthweight children, two family dimensions caught my attention, which I encountered repeatedly, and which were obviously related to the home´s capacity to foster development; yet they were not reflected in the total score. These two dimensions were represented by "Regard for the child´s individuality" and "Family stress".

There were families which provided emotional support for the child and also secured stimulating environments for him. Yet in arranging special activities to facilitate development, which were constituent factors of

their stimulating environment, the parents did not take into account the child's interests or even acted against the its expressed wish. The child might have attended an English language course for example, thus scoring on an item, although he expressedly wanted to attend another one, say German. Or: he attended a karate class on his parents´ wish, although he openly disliked it.

Another manifestation of the lack of "Regard for the child´s individuality" emerged in connection with personal space. On the item of the test "Child has a box or drawer where he can keep his personal items" these families made provisions for this, yet they might have felt free to open these and show their contents, or even read out personal letters to the interviewer. This family process I noticed in facilitating and supporting families where this lack of respect was in sharp contrast with the efforts the families made to provide the best conditions for the child s development.

Another aspect, which seemed an important modifier of the meaning of the total HOME score was family stress. This identified-drawing on the definitions of psychosocial stress literature- on the basis of three criteria:

1. A consistent, objective, source of tension at home, such as crowding, financial hardships etc.
2. A failure to cope with these difficulties on the part of the parents, as expressed in a succession of changes for the worse in family life in the previous years, such as the birth of an unwanted child, decreasing possibility for family holidays, rising hostility between members of the nuclear and wider family etc.
3. The mother found the emotional and social support available for her insufficient or non-existent.

In my sample of extremely low birthweight children three families could be identified as living in psycho-social stress , all of whom received low SES scores. However, their scores did not express the gravely higher risks these homes imposed on them. In line with the findings of psycho-social stress literature, the mothers hinted at tense, non-supportive, and hostile personal relationships in these families during the interview, and in all the three cases the mother was expressedly hostile or even insulting towards the child, during the test´s administration.

3. The potential of the Elementary School Version of the HOME test as a tool for consultative work in the field of social and emotional development

On the basis of their observations the authors of the Inventory, Bradley and Caldwell themselves suggest that the Elementary School Version has a potential to be used as one tool in the hand of social workers and school

psychologists. In the authors´ view the data provided by the HOME test could be useful in understanding underachievement, as well as in the screening of gifted children who are not properly stimulated at home. The administration of the test in the homes of extremely low birthweight children pointed out a further potential of the HOME test for educational practice.
The interview was suitable in most cases to provide a framework for a conversation with the mother in which she got involved and raised important problems in relation to certain items of the test, although normally she was not aware of any problems that would have needed consultation. In these cases the children did not show any symptoms and were not reported as problematic by the teachers either. Yet the problems these mothers reported or revealed might have potentially become causes of developmental disturbances. In other words the HOME test seemed to be a helpful tool in establishing a consultative relationship, in the area of social and emotional development,too. This potential of the HOME I would like to illustrate with two cases:

Case 1.:
Ildiko is a nine year old girl with a medium performance at school. In the last year she has greatly improved at school, since in the first two years she was one of the most poorly performing pupils in her class. According to the head teacher of Ildiko´s class, the parents are highly co-operative with the school and for this reason Ildiko might get marks slightly above her actual performance. When talking with the mother about the daily schedule, she reports that both her husband and Ildiko´s brother actively help Ildiko in her doing the homework, with which she spends a great deal of time every evening. Ildiko does not do any work on her own, including her school work. When talking about another topic featuring in the interview, namely that whether the child has an own room or an own corner in the flat, it transpires that Ildiko has been sleeping in the same bed with her mother since the age of two. At this time the mother was very anxious that Ildiko might catch cold in her own bed at night and when later the mother wanted to return to the old ways Ildiko resisted. Talking about Ildiko visiting friends on her own, -which is another topic of the interview, - the mother tells that Ildiko is not allowed to visit friends, but they can come up to see Ildiko, but only if there is another member of the family present. The mother explains that Ildiko is very gullible, easily gets under wrong influences, and for this reason she also asked the head teacher to sit Ildiko beside a successful girl in the classroom, and discourage her friendship with her two friends who the mother sees as wrong influences. During the interview the picture of a family emerges which is caring and stimulating but which seriously interferes with the development of the child´s autonomy and individuation. At the end of the interview, reacting to a comment made on the great effort the family makes for Ildiko´s progress at school, the mother says in tears: "She was born after four aborted pregnancies with 980 grams. I got her in an oedemic state with feet turned outwards when she was 3.5

months old. I have made her the person she is now."

In another case the HOME interview revealed a similar difficulty in the process of gradual detachment due to anxieties in the mother from the child.

Sandor is a nine year old boy. He wears strong glasses, and on one eye he is poor sighted due to retrolental fibroplasia. He is an only child, as the mother could not bear out another child. Sandor is successful at school, his head teacher reports him as able but shy and withdrawn. When talking about Sandor´s friends and whether he can visit them on his own the mother comments: "He is not allowed to. I should already let him be more free." The mother and the father have strong disagreements on this issue of the child´s upbringing. "I know I must change here." -says the mother. There are no expectations as to household chores against Sandor. The mother adds: "Sandor was frequently ill when he was smaller. I am still anxious about him. It was then he was five when I thought he would stay alive " When talking about another topic of the interview, namely whether the family encourages the child to develop hobbies the mother talks about Sandor´s good and diverse abilities. In the context of this she says: "But all this is in vain because of his eyes. When choosing a vocation he will have an enormous handicap. He is not aware of this yet."

From the 28 families in three cases did the mother give such spontaneous expressions of intense stressful emotions and articulation of problems, none of whom did ever try to discuss these problems, and in none of these cases did the child demonstrate symptoms or gross behaviour problems. Yet in all these cases the quality of the mother-child relationship was hindering the child´s personality and cognitive development, with effects probably emerging in adolescence or later.

In three other cases mothers showed the need to discuss problems to do with the child´s behaviour problems at home, such as tantrums, or problems of discipline related to a history of excessive spoiling.

Helena Rasku-Puttonen
Department of Teacher Education
University of Jyväskylä

INTERACTION BETWEEN PARENTS AND PRESCHOOL-AGED CHILDREN

INTRODUCTION Conversations between parent and child are a major vehicle through which a child acquires the knowledge and values of his community. When children are treated from early on as communicative partners, they experience an active role in interaction. The younger the child the more important his family members are in this process. However, parents vary in how much they talk, in what they say, and how equal the roles are that the parent and child occupy in interactions. The findings on different patterns of parent-child communication are evidence for different environments (Howe 1981; Wells 1985).

A few results (Wells, Montgomery & MacLure 1979; Howe 1981) have indicated that it is possible to identify different patterns of parent-child communication or interaction. The role of the child as a participant was found to vary according to the patterns.

Children begin their school careers with greatly differing language and communications skills. Some children even show deficiences in these skills to such an extent, that they profit less than they should from teaching situations. The results on patterns or styles of communication indicate that the extent to which children are allowed to have an active role in conversations is an important factor to the development of linguistic competence (Wells et al. 1979). The role of the adults in interaction with the child is to stimulate ideas and encourage activity on the child's part so that he himself tries to solve the problems confronting him (Lisina 1985). The preschool-aged children are in the critical period for the development of the extrasituational-cognitive form of communication.

This study was aimed at identifying different patterns of parent-child communication. In addition, the purpose was to find out whether the communication patterns of mother-child dyads are similar to those of father-child dyads. Although many studies have reported parental differences in verbal interaction (Clarke-Stewart 1980; Lytton 1980; Stoneman & Brody 1981), it has been found that parents create a common family system that delineates their family from another (Clarke-Stewart 1980; Lytton 1980).

METHOD

Subjects and procedure

The experiments were conducted in two stages (Rasku-Puttonen 1988), the present work is focused on the first one. In the first stage forty-eight families of 4-year-old children participated in the study. The subjects were divided into two groups on the basis of the parents' education, lower education (LE) (24) and higher education (HE) (24): 24 mother-child dyads (12 girls and 12 boys) and 24 father-child dyads (12 girls and 12 boys) were examined for each. The LE group consisted of parents with only the basic compulsory education or some professional training (9-12 years of school) and the HE parents had a university degree or professional training at college level (14-17 years of school). Approximately 55 % of those contacted agreed to participate. The second stage involved half of these families. Parents and children were given cooperative tasks and the sessions were videotaped. The experimental settings are displayed in Table 1.

The first stage of the study was carried out at the Department of Psychology, at the University of Jyväskylä. In order to be feasible, intensified analysis of communication was restricted to one session. Analysis was focused on communication in the problem-solving task which was a goal-directed task. To control for possible order effects, the order of the task variations and the order of the dyads (mother-child or father-child dyad first) were randomized across families. The problem solving task consisted of model pictures and wooden blocks. The two sets of models were equally difficult and the parent-child dyads were asked to build them in cooperation.

Identifying the patterns

One essential problem is how to identify patterns of interaction or communication. The majority of efforts has been made using structured sequential data. Methods for analyzing sequences are mostly based on probabilistic relationships between different behaviours. They have been criticized on taking place at a molecular level of analysis and ignoring the differences between the individual subjects' original event sequences (Valsiner 1986). Qualitative methods are very appropriate, when the focus is on the structured psychological phenomena.

Analysis was focused on communication in the problem-solving task for the reason that actions and communication had a defined goal and thus, it was possible to expect great variation in the ways in which parent-child dyads would work towards the goal. There were two models in the problem-solving task and it was expected that one of them was difficult enough for a

TABLE 1. Experimental settings

Stage of the study	Setting	Videotaping of interaction: Tasks for dyads — Mother-child and father-child	Tasks for triads — Mother-father-child	Interview — Mother and father	Interview — Child
I	Laboratory (N = 48)	Problem-solving (model-building with blocks)		Parental education, family configurations	
				Questions about parent-child interaction	Questions about parent-child interaction
		Planning (a zoo or a playground)			
II	Laboratory (N = 12) Home (N = 12)	Problem-solving (paper-folding of a hat or a dog)	Free play tasks: Clay-modelling Construction play	Questions about parent-child interaction	

four-year-old child that the parents would have to give their help and advice. When faced with a difficult task, the parents were expected to try different strategies according to their experiences with their child in order to progress. The problems in model-building were assumed to vary in difficulty from one situation to another. Certain strategies may work some of the time while the next time new action sequences may have to be developed. It would be expected that an adult would try out alternative ways of providing guidance.

It was realized that the differences in adult behaviour may owe as much to differences between the children with whom they communicate as to stylistic differences in the parents themselves. Moreover, the reverse is true, and ultimately differences are very likely to emerge from the interaction between a particular pair of participants. Parent-child communication is certainly the product of interaction to which both the child and the adult contribute in varying degrees.

Using above framework, video-recordings were viewed. Attention was paid to the behaviour and utterances of the child and adult especially at difficult points in the task (i.e., how they progressed from the beginning to the end of the task). To be specific, analysis was focused on the use of language as follows: What are the functions of language; what concepts are used in guidance; how concrete are the cues given to the child; how much is the child himself expected to work with the problem in order to solve it; how much adult help does the child seem to need?

Because a number of dyads did not build following the instructions, the parent-child pairs were first grouped on the basis of the outcome, whether they realized the task in accordance with the instructions or not. Those dyads which built according to the models were then classified into four main groups.

PATTERNS OF COMMUNICATION

Pattern 1. The child solves the difficult points and constructs the solutions on the basis of his own thinking (n = 17). The child may be independent and skillful, in which case the role of the parent is minimal or the parent may guide the child in such a way that the solutions as far as possible will stem from the child's thinking.

Characteristic of this group was the fact that questions were employed in attempting to solve even the more problematic aspects of the task. These questions required the child to look at the model and to make comparisons (same, horizontally). The adult attempted to get the child to come up with the right answer himself by way of explanations using various concepts (e.g., below, thick, long, shorter). Advice was given in answer to the child's

questions, in order to enable the child to arrive at the answer himself.

While some parents were more explicit in the use of one 'style' where the most general route taken was to proceed through the use of questions (question -> clarifying questions -> explanations through concepts -> explanations with the help of pictures) other parents used several strategies of proceeding depending on the situation (attracting attention -> question -> suggestion to act -> explanation -> suggesting). Especially characteristic of this group was the fact that in different ways parents helped the child to ponder the solution to the problem, and let their child test possible ways of proceeding. Only when the adult noticed that there were no other way of making headway on the task, did he give more direct hints of the answer or point to the right block.

If the child needed no guidance or needed just a little, the adult's contribution remained minimal. It seemed sufficient for the parent to keep an eye on the work and give a word of encouragement every now and then.

> Example 1. C(hild): (setting up a block) This is a big one. -> A(dult): (pointing to the model, then at the construction) Look, when you compare the big one there - how does it compare with that one? -> C: (looking at the model picture, then at the construction) -> A: Is it longer or shorter than this? etc. (Mother and daughter)

Pattern 2. Parent directing situation, child mainly obeying. Parent takes child's needs and abilities into account (n = 25). In this group the child's expected level of performance was lower than in the preceding group.

Construction on the easier parts of the task proceeded with the help of the adult's questions 'what do you do then?' and by means of suggestions. In problem points, the parents used questions which included the answer or they pointed out the right block. Many parents provided the answer when the going was most difficult by giving the child the correct block or proceeding to suggestions.

In this group while the parents asked the child to think of the solution, they still provided the correct answer quite soon afterwards. Although the guidance in the problem spots could be regarded as giving suggestions, many parents explained why the block chosen was not the right one, and some parents went through the model step by step.

> Example 2. C: (looking at the model, putting down the block) -> A: No, now it went wrong -> C: (putting the block elsewhere) What about this? -> A: Is that right? -> C:

(looking at the model picture) Yes, or was it? (smiling at her father) -> A: No, I don't think so -> C: Why not? -> A: Look, you need small blocks, like these, look, put them at this end, see (pointing to the model, taking the wrong block out of the construction) -> C: (taking the correct block, looking at the model) Where do we put this? -> A: Here (pointing to the construction) (Father and daughter)

Pattern 3. The parent directs the situation without sufficiently taking into account the child's needs or abilities. Guidance is stiff. The responsibility for the construction still lies mainly with the child (n = 27).

In this group the most general mode of proceeding was admonition; the child being told what to do next, which was the right block and where it was to be put. The child's task was to obey.

In the easier places, some of the parents proceeded using questions. However, little time was given for consideration of the answer as the parent readily provided it. The questions were often such that they already contained the answer. When difficulties were encountered, parents often pointed out the error by comparing the construction to the model, and by giving direct hints as to the solution, for instance by suggesting or giving the child suitable blocks. Parents often contributed

to the building themselves. To correct wrong choices, parents often said straight out 'no, not that one, what about this one?' while at the same time handing the child a suitable block.

Example 3. A: It must be that much longer (taking the block from the table) Could it be this one? Could it, there are two of them, you see, here (putting the block before the child), go on. <-~ C: (dismantles the construction) -> A: Yes, the long ones do go down there, you were quite right (pulling the long blocks back before the child) -> C: (taking the blocks, putting them down) <-> A: That's it, put them down there, and then ... yes, just like that (pointing to the blocks) put those there cross-wise, like you have there (pointing to the construction) (Father and son).

Pattern 4. The parent directs the situation, for instance, by doing the building himself. The responsibility for the construction rests with the adult (n = 7).

The main stress is on getting the task done, not in the cooperation between parent and child. Difficulties arose for this group in the initiation of

co-operation between child and adult with the child expressing doubts as to his abilities in building constructions with the help of models.
In several cases the adult started to do the building themselves, instead of explaining to the child how they could cope with the task or in guiding the child in his building. Even in the cases where the child was involved in the construction, the parents gave them the appropriate blocks ready to be put into place, and actually told them where they should be put.

> Example 4. C: (looking at the picture) Ye-e-s, one of those (pointing to a block in the model) -> A: Ye-e-s, listen, it's on top of one of those (holding a block in her hand). Listen, what if we made this (setting down blocks) -> C: These ... -> A: (taking blocks from the child) Look, like this, that's the base now. Then two more on top (putting them there) like this. (Mother and son)

Pattern 5. The tasks were either only partially or not completed (n = 20).

There were many kinds of pairs in this group. A common feature to all was the fact that a construction in accordance with the model was not achieved despite the parent's efforts. Several parents proposed the building of the model, tried to appeal to the child's imagination, built the model themselves or tried to get the child interested in the task by means of questions and comparisons of construction to the model. Nevertheless, most of children built their own construction, which they would not abandon. In a few cases, wrong instructions from the adult caused the child to turn to his own construction.

In some instances the child was very involved with the model made with one parent, and was not willing to make any other. Some of the adults did not attempt to get the child to build according to the model, or, if he did, then only at the beginning stages of the situation.

The mother-child dyads and father-child dyads were separately classified into patterns of communication. As shown in Table 2, the distributions of fathers and mothers to the groups of patterns were approximately similar. Mother and father of 13 families (27 %) were in the same group of communication (Cronbach alfa = 0.53).

Table 2. The distributions of mother-child and father-child dyads in patterns of communication

Pattern	Mother-child	Father-child
Pattern 1	8	9
Pattern 2	13	12
Pattern 3	10	17
Pattern 4	4	3
Pattern 5	13	7

DISCUSSION

This study was aimed at identifying the patterns of communication. Attention was paid to the behaviour and utterances of parents and their children. Because the communication is a product of both interactive participants, the focus was on the dyads. Evidently there were as many stories as there are parent-child dyads in the data. Accordingly, there was wide variation in details within the groups of patterns. Since it was observed that there existed a few aspects according to which some dyads differed more from each other while the others were quite similar, it was found possible to describe parent-child communication by means of topologies.

The groups in which the work proceeded towards task solution, differed from each other in the guidance given and in the child's contributions to the joint activity. In Pattern 1 questions were employed in attempting to solve even the more problematic aspects of the task. The adult attempted to get the child to come up with the right answer himself by way of explanations and through the use of comparisons. In other groups of patterns the cues were given more and more directly and concretely and the adult was observed to build more himself. In Pattern 4 the child was restricted to comply with the requested action and sometimes the adult seemed to ignore the child's abilities. The results revealed that the distributions of mothers and fathers to the groups of patterns were approximately similar.

When the analysis is not conducted across individual dyads, attention needs to be paid to the fact that successive events may have an influence on the child. Some effects were observed in individual cases. If the guidance of one parent in the first session showed a discrepancy with the child's needs and abilities, or if the parent gave incorrect pieces of advice or the child was unsuccessful in his attempts to complete the task, the second session with

the other parent might begin with difficulties. Children appeared to differ in their willingness to engage in interaction. There were also children who were fixed with the first models and could not agree with new ones or different ways to build. Certainly, getting familiar with the settings and learning principles of model-building may have facilitated at least in a few cases the execution of the second task.

Taken together, patterns of communication are not stable for adults nor for children. Although it seems probable that there are stylistic differences between both adults and children in their preferred approach to this kind of task, differences in communication are as likely to emerge from the interaction between a particular pair of participants as they are due to the context. In addition to the context, even more occasional things have an influence on communication. Because the analysis was limited to a single task there was no possibility to evaluate the stability of the patterns across situations.

A prospective longitudinal study is required if we are to try to understand the development and changes in communication or interaction patterns between parents and children. Very little is known about the entity of interactional events in the family, its relationship to later social adjustment, and social interactional patterns outside the family.

REFERENCES

Clarke-Stewart, K. (1980). The father's contribution to children's cognitive and social development in early childhood. In F. Pedersen (Ed.), The father-infant relationship. New York: Praeger.

Howe, C. (1981). Acquiring language in a conversational context. London: Academic Press.

Lisina, M. (1985) Child-adult-peers: Patterns of communication. Moscow: Progress.

Lytton, H. (1980). Parent-child interaction. New York: Plenum Press.

Rasku-Puttonen, H. (1988). Communication between parents and children in experimental situations. Jyväskylä Studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research, 65.

Stoneman, Z. & Brody, G. (1981). Two's company, three makes a difference: An examination of mothers' and fathers' speech to their young children. Child Development, 52, 705-707.

Valsiner, J. (1986). Sequence-structure analysis. Study of serial order within unique sequences of psychological phenomena. In J. Valsiner (Ed.), The individual subject and scientific psychology. New York: Plenum Press.

Wells, G. (1985). Language development in the pre-school years. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, G., Montgomery, M. & MacLure, M. (1979). Adult-child discourse: Outline of a model of analysis. Journal of Pragmatics, 3, 337-380.

Katalin Felvinzci
Institute of Psychology
Eötvös Lorand University of Budapest

DIFFERENCES OF ROLE BEHAVIOUR IN FAMILIES BELONGING TO DIFFERENT SOCIAL STRATA

In 1985-86 we studied 150 families belonging to different social strata and living on two different stages of family life cycle. My interest was to clarify the main differences, features and the psychological content of family role formation. I think this aspect is a very important and structuring factor of psychological quality of family life. In my work I wanted to give priority to Talcott Parsons' gender role concept. According to Parsons in the case of upper middle classes it was the father who's role taking behaviour showed instrumental features. It was him the bread-winner, he kept contact with the outside world, it was him, who provided prestige for the family, and he was responsible for the moral development of the children.

In contrast the mother's role-taking behaviour showed mostly expressive features, she had to look after the children, had to provide the emotional warmness of the home, and she had to behave in a balancing conciliatory manner in conflicting situations. It is the so called traditional family role division.

I wanted to find out whether this role division can be found in our days in different Hungarian families or not. And I wanted to find some dimensions which directly or indirectly would inform us about these questions.

I think I have to give some explanations why did I choose Parsons´ role division concept though many sociologists and psychologists dealing with this field have criticized him a lot.

1. This is the so called and in our cultural milieu widely well known concept of traditional role division. This categorization can be seen as the result of empirical researches, but on the other hand it can be interpreted as a value orientation as well.

2. I have to mention that all of our "babycare" guide books carry a latent or hidden message with this content. Here you can see a real Hungarian representative, a child look with very nice pictures. And you can find in it just this role and labour division between the parents.
I think the behaviour pattern appearing in it is not an accident but the manifestation or sign of a well articulated concept of family gender role division.

3. Finally, I would like to mention one more aspect which might be the most important one. Our concepts of healthy personality development based mostly on Sigmund Freud´s and other psychoanalytical writer´s implicit or explicit theories concerning the socialization process. Freud and his followers made a great and effective effort to conceptuasalize the psychological events, dynamics behind the given symptom or personality disturbance. But we can made further efforts to find out, to identify the family structure behind these manifestations. And I think this is the upper-middle class family with the well known traditional role-division, perhaps badly or problematically functioning.

For the present days the objective circumstances have changed a lot. (Let me mention a few elements of this change: the mass employment of women, the dominance of urban life-style, the socialization etc.). As a result of it the situation of the families, the role division and especially the individual´s relation, attitude toward it have been changing in a considerable amount.

The family role-division is a structural element of family life. According to my studies in social anthropology I do believe that there is no actually operating structure without real functions in it. That is why I think it would be important so much to get the real picture of family role formation.

METHOD AND POPULATION

In my study I used a semistructured deep interview technique which was administered in a conjoint situation. The main topics of the interview can be seen in Table 1.

The conjoint was an important point in the procedure because I wanted to encourage the appearance of real interactions between the spouses through this technical element.

In the present study I would deal with the 1/6th of the whole population, only. The whole sample would contain of 150 families. After a long struggle in my mind I decided to pick up two aspects which can have an important impact on family role formation:

1. the stage of family life cycle
2. the place in the social stratum.

TABLE 1.

THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE WHOLE POPULATION AND OF ITS SUBGROUPS

	SKILLED WORKER FAMILIES				INTELLECTUAL FAMILIES		PEASANT FAMILIES	
The place in the social stratum	In these families the fathers were working as skilled workers, and the families were living in housing estates in Budapest or in Debrecen.				In these families both of the parents had got diplome, and the mothers stayed at home with their newborn infant not more, than a year. The families were living in some well equipped suburbs of Budapest.		These families were living in little villages /it means that tehere were no more inhabitants,than 1000/. The parents were working as peasants in this village or as employments in nearby factories or firms.	
The stage of the family life cycle	Debrecen Families		Budapest Families		Budapest Families		Little villages in north Hungary Families	
	with school child	with infant	with school child	with infant	with infant	with school child	with school child	with infant
	N ± 15	N ± 15	N ± 15	N ± 15	N ± 15	N ± 15	N ± 30	N ± 30

N ± The number of the families involved in the subgroups. ☐ = The families involved in this study

These aspects were the guidelines for me to select the families to be studied.

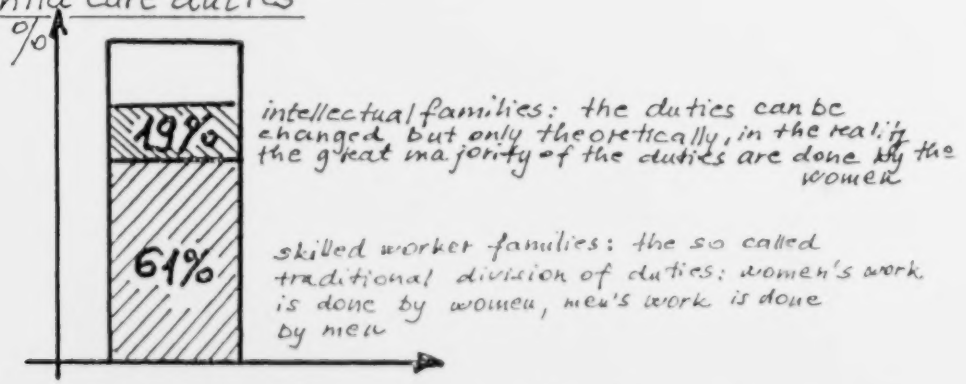
Here you can see in Table 1 which shows the main features of the whole population and of its subgroups.

The interviews were coded. The data gathered through this procedure were computerized. The results presented here came from the primary analysis of them (Table 2).

RESULTS

I. Direct measures of the role division between the spouses

1. The division of houschold and child care duties

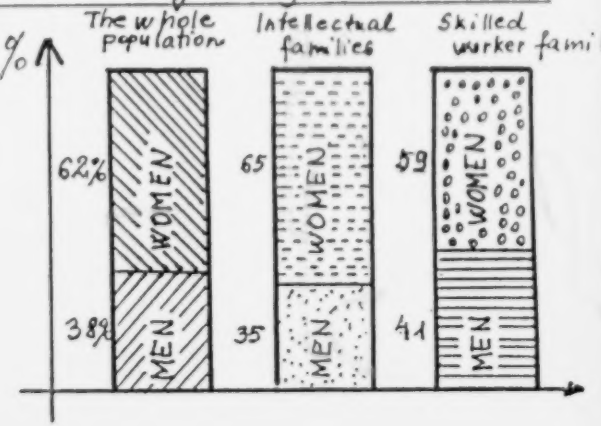


intellectual families: the duties can be changed but only theoretically, in the reality the great majority of the duties are done by the women

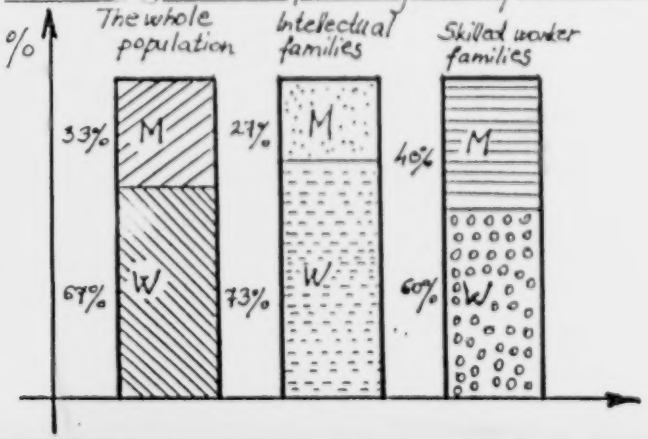
skilled worker families: the so called traditional division of duties: women's work is done by women, men's work is done by men

2. Speech activity during the interview

a)



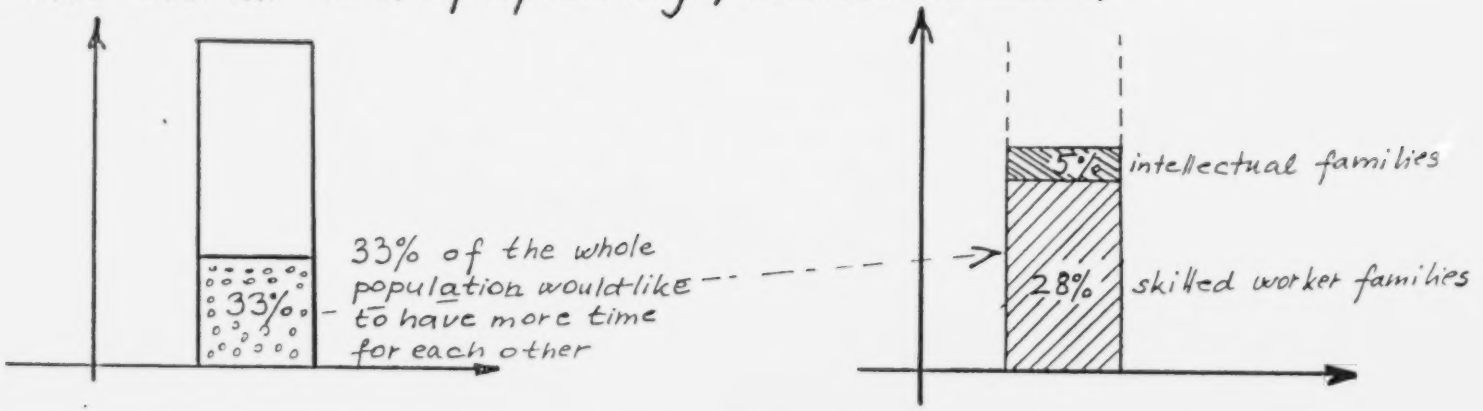
b) Who begins to speak just after the interviewer ?



Both in the skilled worker and in the intellectual families fathers /MEN/ speak much less during the interview than mothers. This difference becomes much sharper and more articulated if we focus our attention to the question: who is the first to speak after the interviewer.

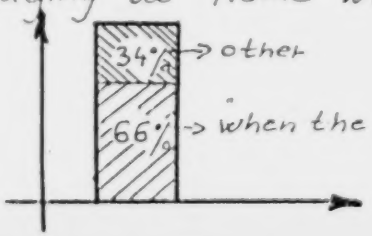
II. The overall level of expressivity /indirect measures/

a.)



b.) We had [9] children of the 21 who were staying at home, the other [12] were attending day nursery. There were only [7] families /out of 9/ where the parents pointed out psychological factors when they explained their decision not to put the children into nursery. [4] of them were skilled worker families.

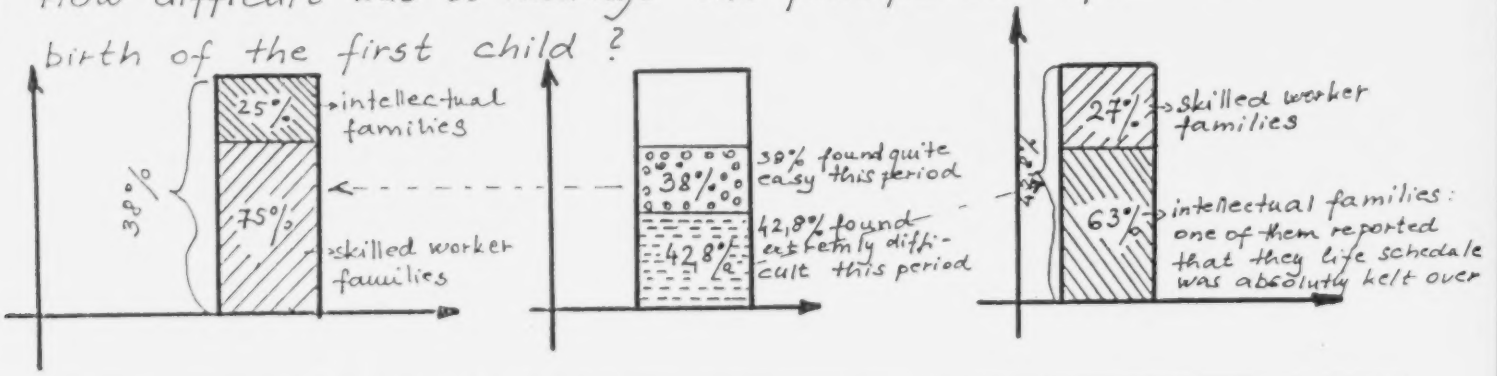
c.) The most pleasant period of the day for the mothers who were staying at home with their children



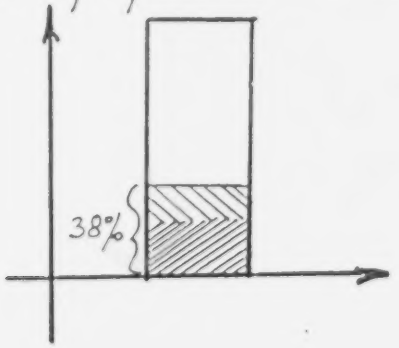
→ all of them are skilled worker families

III. The individuals relation to their newly articulated social/family roles

a.) How difficult was to manage the first period after the birth of the first child ?



b.) The rate of parents' adult programmes



38% of the whole population could manage to go out to somewhere without children. A bit more than the half of them were intellectual families. Maybe because of their higher level of self reflexivity and self consciousness they were able to pay more attention to this aspect of family relations.

INTERPRETATION - SUMMARY

According to the "direct" measures of role division we can state, that in skilled worker families we could find a well articulated traditional like role division. In their case the ideology and the actual behaviour is congruent. The great difference between intellectual and skilled worker families was not in their actual behaviour, but in the ideologies behind it. As far as I see in intellectual families the spouses and especially the women can not accept, in their minds, the role expectations. Another aspect of the role taking behaviour was mirrored in the spouses' speech activity. First we can say that the women's higher speech activity ~an be interpreted as a sign of traditional role division, where to deal with the family every day life is a women's duty. One another aspect of these data can be the men's/husband's situation interpretation, which i9 an important aspect of role taking behaviour. The data suggest, that in skilled worker families fathers conceptualize their role as they have to present an image of their family to the outer world. This situation interpretation is congruent with the requirements of instrumental role taking behaviour. This situation interpretation is much less articulated in intellectual families.

The overall level of expressivity proved to be higher in skilled worker families as it is presented in the "indirect measures of the overall level of expressivity". The coping efforts with the requirements of the freshly/newly articulated social/family roles were more successful in skilled worker families, than in intellectual ones. The main reason of it can be found perhaps in the level of personality maturity. This period of family development/family life cycle requires more, than ever, the acceptance of traditional role division, among our social and economical conditions. And it proved to be much harder for intellectual families. This explanation is congruent with one another datum. According this there was only 7 families out of 21 who thought they would do something differently if they had a possibility to begin their lives again. Five of them were intellectual spouses, and they though they would appreciate if they could manage their own individual career on another way.

The main theoretical and methodological implications of this study for me are the followings:

- it is very important to make a sharp distinction between the content and relational level of role behaviour;

- the content level can be approached by direct measures, but the relational one only through indirect ones.

Marjatta Vanhalakka-Ruoho
Department of Psychology
University of Tampere

CHILDREN AND FAMILIES ENGAGED IN SPORTS

INTRODUCTION

The everyday life in families includes care of children, household duties, shopping, leisure time and hobbies of family members, time spent together, social contacts, school of children and working of parents. The family is the scene and the unit where the daily routines and activities happen and are arranged.

It is often mentioned that the tasks and functions of the family have changed in a decisive way. However, the family has always been the scene of the daily routines and activities. According for instance to Nummenmaa (1982) it is the situation which is nowadays different and more complex than previously: Both parents in most families work outside the home. There are many intensive leisure time activities. The environments where the members of families live are more complex and varying. This complex and changing situation provides material for family research, too.

One of the basic questions concerning the study of the activities in family relates to the choice of the level of analysis. We may analyze the activities and actions of family in tiny and elementary units like emotional expressions and simple psychomotor acts. The next levels are the level of operations and acts, and the level of tasks and episodes. But when we study everyday life of families, the level of analysis consists also of larger structural wholes, activity structures (Takala 1984). Everyday activities are categorized into main spheres (e.g. working of parents, leisure time spent together), and both their content and their frequency (or total time consumption) are assessed.

Living conditions and living environments are part of the everyday life of families. Therefore, the other of the basic questions concerning the study of family relates to the choice of the unit of analysis. Beliefs and practices associated with the choice of the unit of analysis are the central part of different "world views", or philosophical orientations which guide research and theory in a given field of inquiry. These patterns are discussed by Altman (1987) when he discusses the crises in environmental psychology and in community psychology.

By varying the focus of our interests units of analysis of various size are produced. The focus may be directed on "a child and a family" or "a child, a

family and their environment" or "a child and a family in their environment". The concept environment refers in the present context to physical, interpersonal and societal environments.

When the focus is on "a child and a family in their environment" we have, according to Altman (1987), the transactional approach. This approach assumes that psychological phenomena are holistic events. These holistic events are composed of psychological processes and physical, cultural and social environments. These parts are inseparable and mutually defining. One of the chief postulates of this approach is that there are no separate actors in an event. The actions of one person are understood in relation to the actions of other people. Besides the actions of one person are understood in relation to environments in which the actors live.

The core of the transactional approach is that psychological phenomena are partly defined by the physical, social and societal environments of which they are a part. According to the transactional approach, research is conducted in natural settings, where the confluence of people, processes, context and change occurs.

When we combine these interests in holistic entities, natural settings and studying persons and groups in their environments, we approach the core of ecological psychology (or psychological ecology). The ecological perspective on psychological phenomena places emphasis upon person-action -environment systems (Willems 1973, Bronfenbrenner 1979, Syvänen 1982, Takala 1984). The research methods are naturalistic and more emphasis is placed upon molar phenomena than upon molecular ones. Traditionally, the cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses of people to the physical features of their environments have been studied in ecological psychology. A modern variant of ecological psychology deals with social and cultural environments, too. This social ecology assumes that persons and groups exist in the "web of life" in which they "struggle for existence" in a specific physical, social and cultural environment (Moos & Schaefer 1986).

In the following study concerning the family and the sports activities of the child "child and family in their daily situation" is chosen for the unit of analysis. On one hand, this situation consists of the actual conditions under which the child and the family live; on the other hand, of their own actions, experiences and evaluations of these conditions (Magnusson 1981). The study describes the contexts, activities and goals of this daily situation. As a result, we obtain information of and insight into the daily life and activities of children and families engaged in sports.

PURPOSE

The purpose of the present study is to describe the daily life and the activities of youngsters who participate intensively in sports or, alternatively, in music, as well as the activities of their families. The contexts of the daily situation, the daily routines and activities of youngsters and families, and the goals of youngsters and parents are described and compared.

METHODS

The data related to sports have been collected by interviewing 95 ice-hockey players and athletes in track and field and their parents in the city of Tampere. The youngsters participated in competitive sports organized by sports clubs.

There were two age groups: the 10-12- year-old and the 15-17-year-old. The sample consisted of 75 boys and 20 girls. The music data were collected by interviewing from the corresponding age groups altogether 45 youngsters (30 boys and 15 girls) who received music teaching. The data have been collected at the beginning of 1980's. The data are part of a larger research program (Vanhalakka-Ruoho 1981, Telama & Vanhalakka-Ruoho 1981, Vanhalakka-Ruoho & Asonen 1985).

The method was naturalistic in the sense that the interview was carried out at home in natural settings and data were gathered rather on molar phenomena (holistic events, broad processes) than upon molecular one (tiny details).

The interview included broad questions concerning the daily rhythm and the activities of the youngsters and families, and specific questions concerning the context of sports and music activities, the frequency of activities in different settings, and goals related to sports or music. The following information on daily actions and activities of youngster and family (i.e. action models) was gathered:

- sport/music activity of the youngster
- regular leisure time activities of the youngster
- other leisure time activities of the youngster
- peer relations of the youngster
- school success of the youngster
- participation of the parents in the youngster's sport/music activity
- shared leisure time between the youngster and the parents
- participation of the youngster in household duties
- division of household duties in the family

- leisure time activities of the parents
- leisure time activities of siblings
- shared leisure time in families
- jobs of the parents (working schedules etc.)

The context of the daily situation was operationally defined chiefly as intensity of training and the demands concerning the arrangements the activity calls for. The goals the youngsters and the parents expressed in the interview reflect rather hopes and wishes (personal projects) than serious plans for the future.

RESULTS

The context of sports and music

The intensity of sports training during the winter season was 3 to 4 times per week with most younger children. Most members of the older group train 5 or 6 times a week. Ice-hockey takes more time than track and field, because part of the training in track and field may take place in the immediate environment of the home. The longer distance to the locations where ice-hockey is played, the greater need for equipment in ice-hockey, and fixed training hours mean a greater need for transportation and other arrangements.

Those children who participate in music receive music teaching and have their lessons outside the home mostly twice or three times a week. In addition, most of these youngsters train at home every day.

Table 1: Distribution of time spent on sports and music during winter time (time for training, competitions,travels) (f)

Time/week	IC10	TR10	IC15	TR15	TR15G	M10	M15	M15G
less than 5 h	O	9	0	0	2	5	1	2
5-9	4	3	0	3	8	5	5	3
10-14	13	3	5	11	8	5	4	7
15-19	3	0	12	5	2	0	2	3
20-25	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	0
N	20	15	20	20	20	15	15	15

IC10 ice-hockey 10-12-year-old boys
TR10 track-and-field 10-12-year-old boys
IC15 ice-hockey 15-17-year-old boys
TR15 track-and-field 15-17-year-old boys
TR15G track-and-field 15-17-year-old girls
M10 music 10-12-year-old boys
M15 music 15-17-year-old boys
M15G music 15-17-year-old girls

Ice-hockey differs from track and field and music in that it requires more time and organizing. Music and track and field resemble each other in that the youngster is himself able to regulate the amount and timing of the training.

The daily activities of the youngsters and their families

Intensive participation in competitive sports or in music affects the daily routines and other hobbies or interests. On the other hand, these tell us something about the way of life of the participants. The following results are based on the most frequent value (mode) of the action model in question. The profiles of everyday life and family life are formed from these values.

The profiles of everyday life are based on the following action models:

- regular leisure time activities of the youngster (hobbies)
- other leisure time activities of the youngster (leisure)
- sport/music activity of the youngster (sports/music)
- peer relations of the youngster (peers)
- school success of the youngster (school)

The main features of the daily life of younger male sportsmen and musicians are as follows (Figures Ia and Ib). The values of action models are here quite rough: level 1 means passive, 2 represents moderate and 3 active mode of action. The youngsters do well at school. Those engaged in ice-hockey and track and field have several friends, whereas musicians have only a few. Ice-hockey players participate also in some other organized sport, but their other leisure time interests are less varied than the interests of boys in track and field, and in music.

FIGURE 1a: The profile of everyday life in the group of 10–12–year–old boys: Sports (Ice–hockey n=20, track and field n=15)

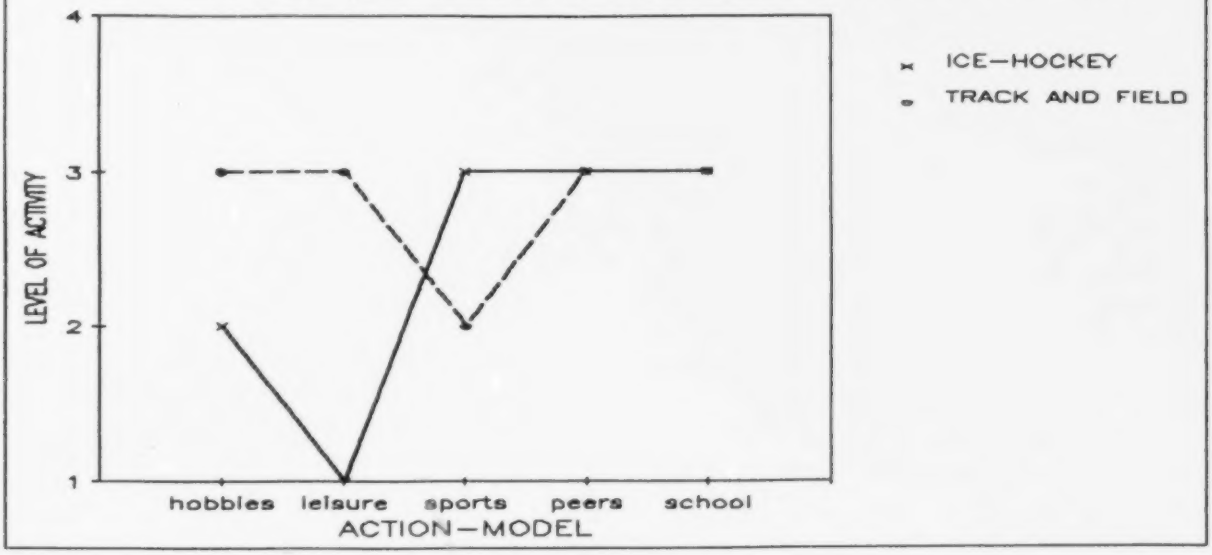
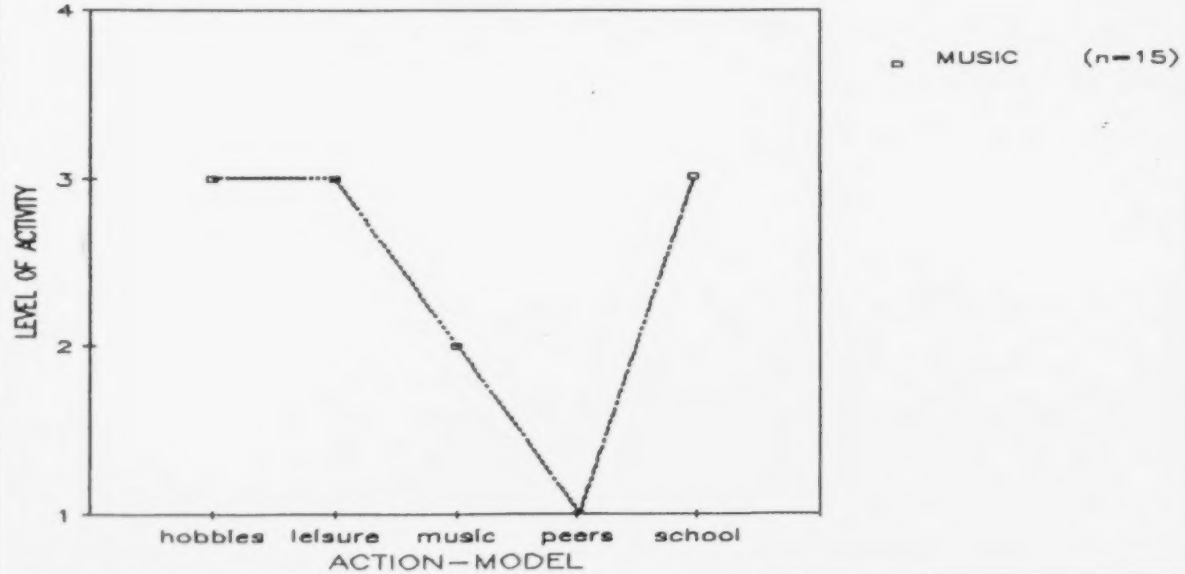


FIGURE 1b: The profile of everyday life in the group of 10–12–year–old boys: Music (n=15)



The older sportsmen and musicians do moderately at school (Figures 2a and 2b). The sportsmen have more friends than musicians. The musicians have various music interests; they play different instruments, sing in a choir or play in an orchestra and go to concerts. They may also have some other regular hobbies. The sportsmen typically have some additional sports interest, but especially the older boys participating in ice-hockey spend their leisure time more passively and their other interests are less varied.

The girls participating in sports or in music do well at school, have various leisure time activities and have a moderate amount o: er relations (Figures 3a and 3b).

FIGURE 2a: The profile of everyday life in the group of 15–17–year–old boys: Sports (Ice–hockey n=20, track and field n=20)

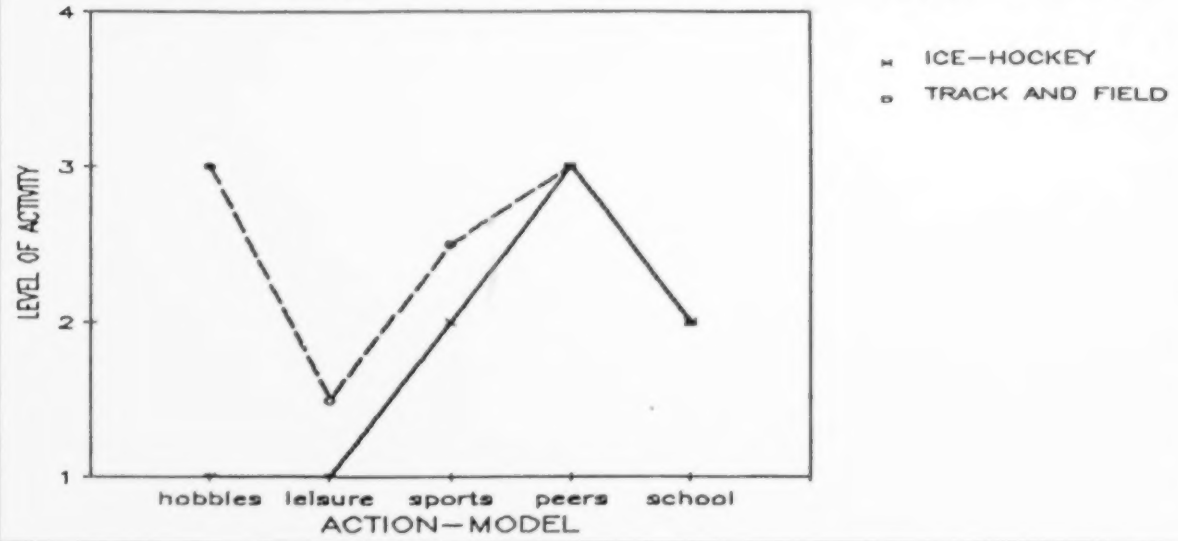


FIGURE 2b: The profile of everyday life in the group of 15–17–year–old boys: Music (n=15)

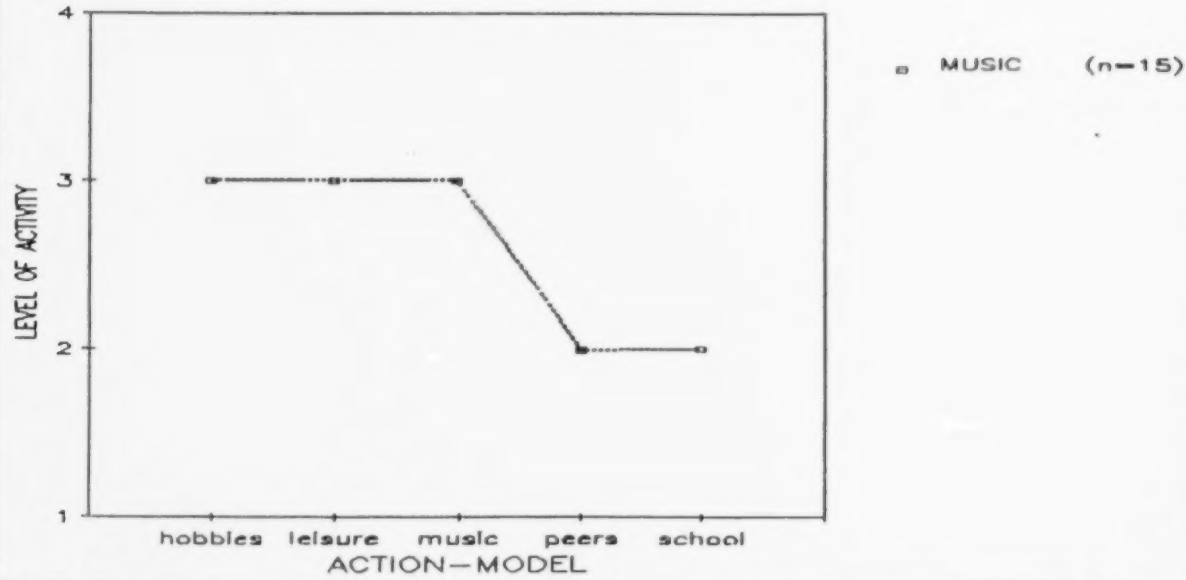


FIGURE 3a: The profile of everyday life in the group of 15–17–year–old girls: Sports (track and field n=20)

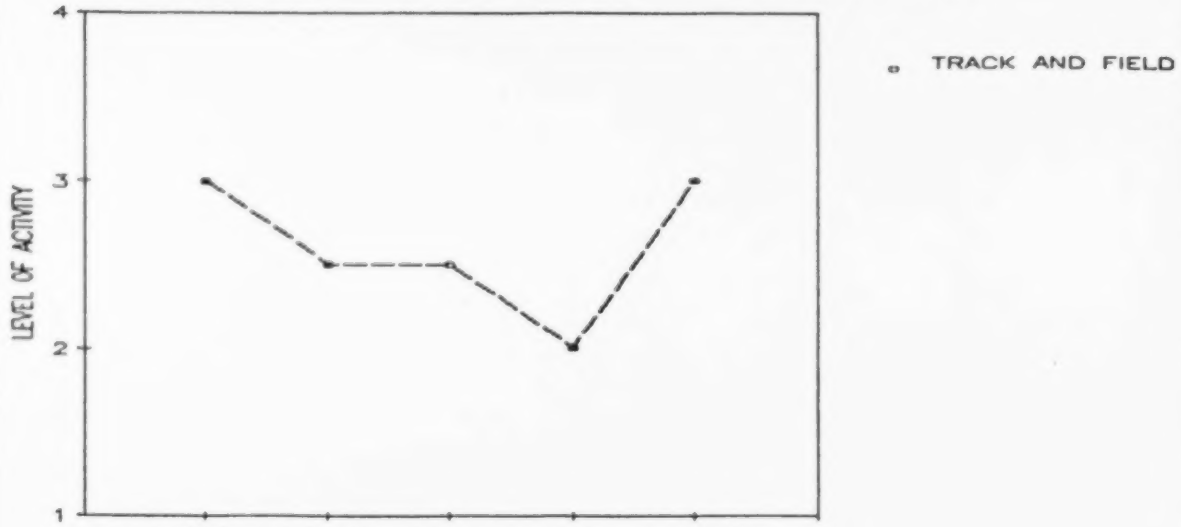
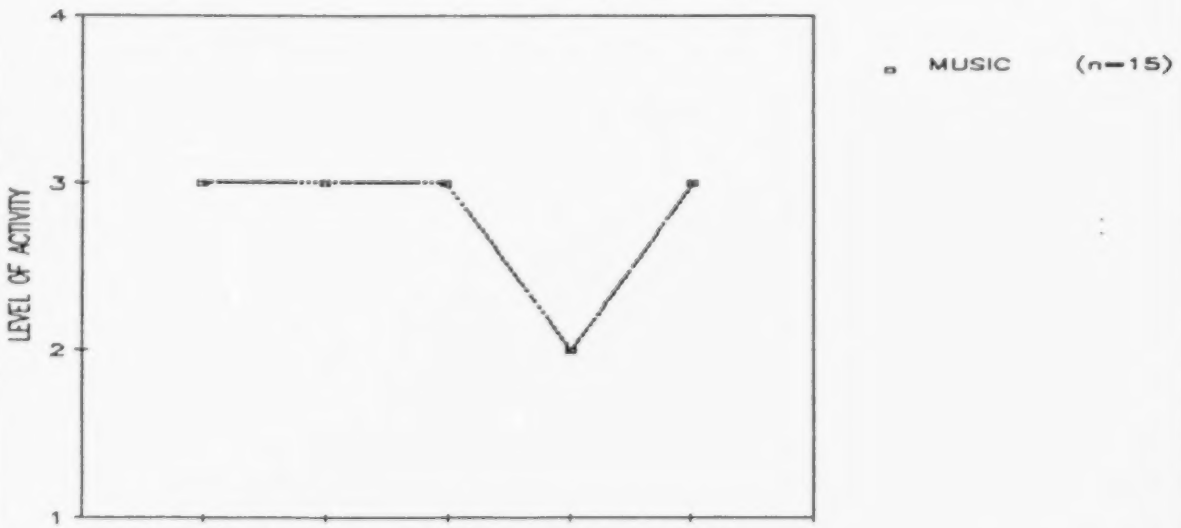


FIGURE 3b: The profile of everyday life in the group of 15–17–year–old girls: Music (n=15)



Participation in sports affects on the family's life by increasing the amount of various supporting activities (meal times, organizing the daily rhythm, laundry etc.) at home and transportation and presence at sport events outside home. Participation in track and field places more emphasis on the supporting activities at home and participation in ice-hockey increases the need of transportation. Participation in music is reflected upon some families in similar arrangements, but on the whole, it affects less on the family life than sports.

The profiles of everyday life are based on the following action models: - participation of the parents in the youngster's sport/music activity (A) - shared leisure time between the youngster and the parents (B) - participation of the youngster in household duties (C) - division of household duties in the family (D) - shared leisure time in families (E) - leisure time activities of the parents (F) - leisure time activities of siblings (G).

It is typical of the family of younger sportsmen (Figure 4a) that the child and the parents have much in common both in sports and in other leisure time activities, there is some division of household duties and also the siblings and parents have the hobbies of their own. In families of musicians (Figure 4b) the profile of daily activities is very much the same, but the shared activities in their families are less frequent.

A specific feature of the family life of older ice-hockey players is the regular participation of the parents in a boy's sports activity, which is not typical of the families of track-and-field athletes and musicians (Figures 5a and 5b). Other features of family life of ice-hockey players are joint activities of the whole family, little sharing of household duties and regular leisure time activities of the siblings. The daily life in families of other groups includes less joint activities, more division in household duties and more hobbies of siblings and parents.

In the families of the girls who participate in track and field or in music (Figures 6a and 6b), the joint activities of girl and the parents are few, household duties are shared to some extent, and in their leisure time the parents and siblings have also their individual hobbies. The shared activities in families are somewhat lesser in number in music than in track and field.

The goals of the youngsters and their parents

The goals the youngsters and the parents expressed in the interview reflect their personal projects and are perhaps more hopes and wishes than serious plans for the future especially in younger age-groups. The expectations of the parents, concerning their children's performance, were competitively rather modest. One fourth of the parents in the track-and- field group

FIGURE 4a: The profile of family life in the group of 10–12–year–old boys: Sports (Ice–hockey n=20, track and field n=15)

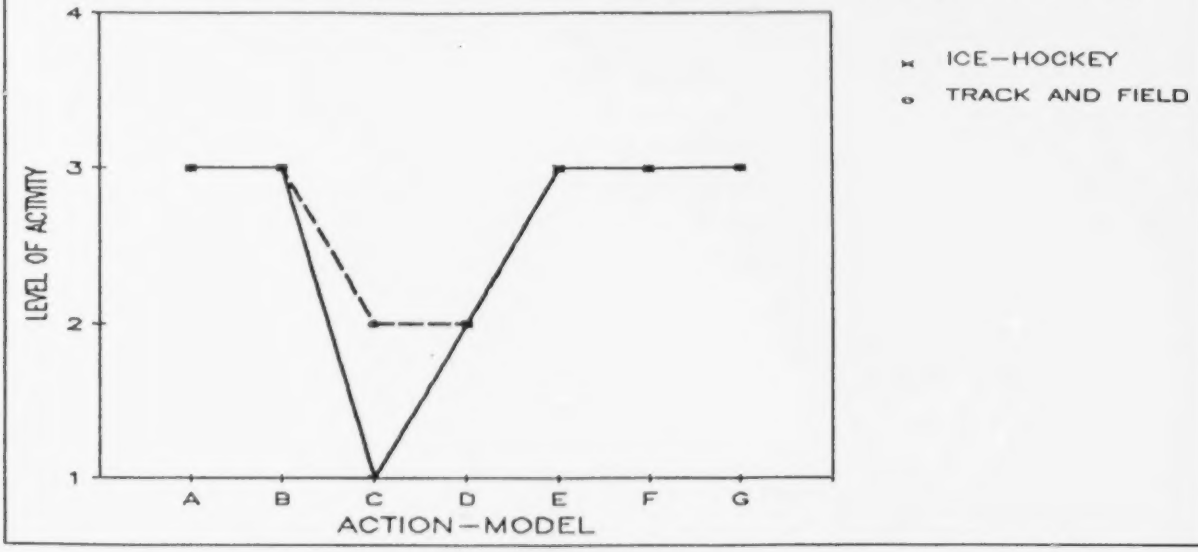


FIGURE 4b: The profile of family life in the group of 10–12–year–old boys: Music (n=15)

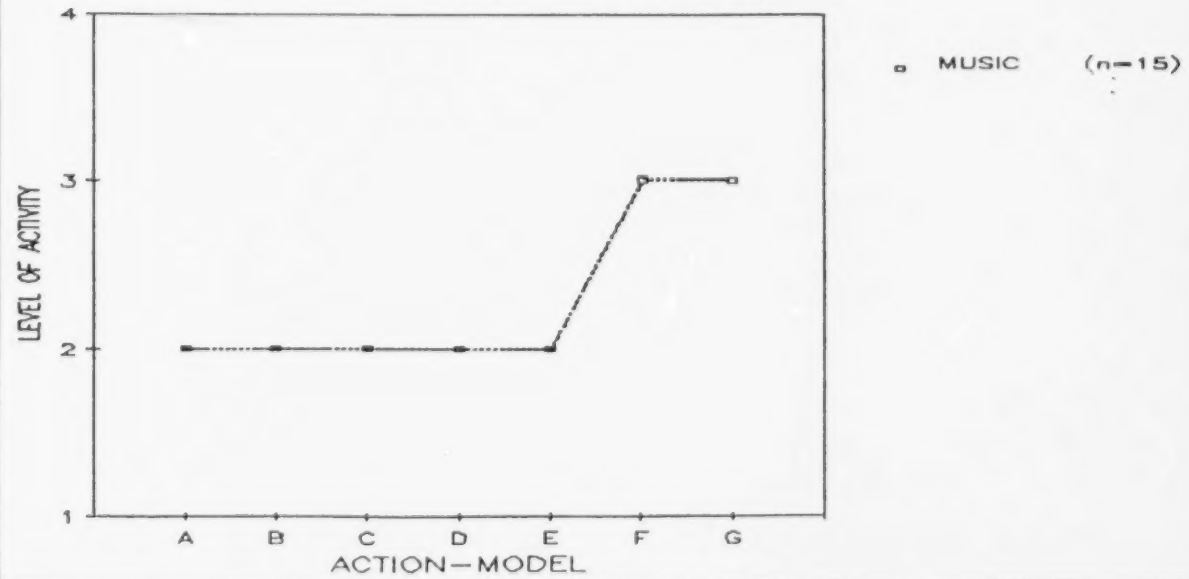


FIGURE 5a: The profile of family life in the group of 15–17–year–old boys: Sports (Ice–hockey n=20, track and field n=20)

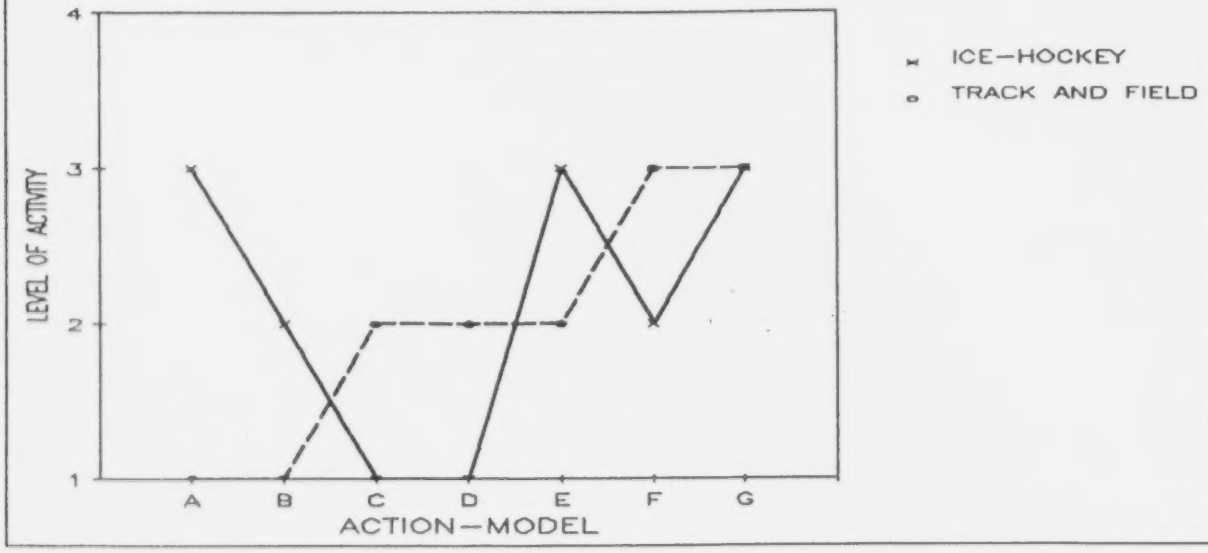


FIGURE 5b: The profile of family life in the group of 15–17–year–old boys: Music (n=15)

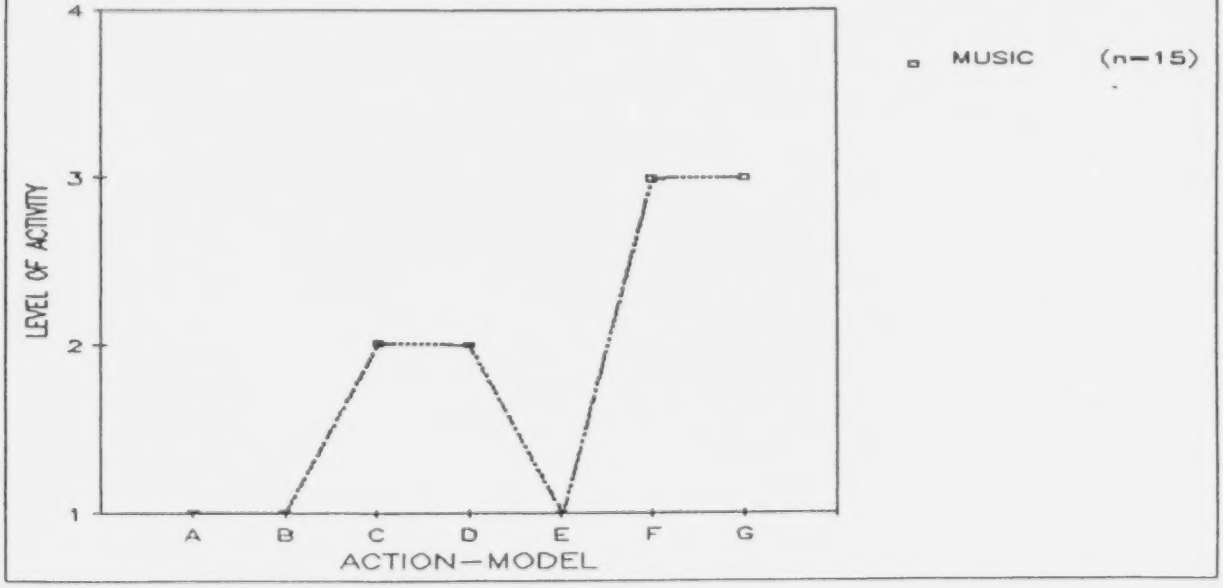


FIGURE 6a: The profile of family life in the group of 15–17–year–old girls: Sports (track and field n=20)

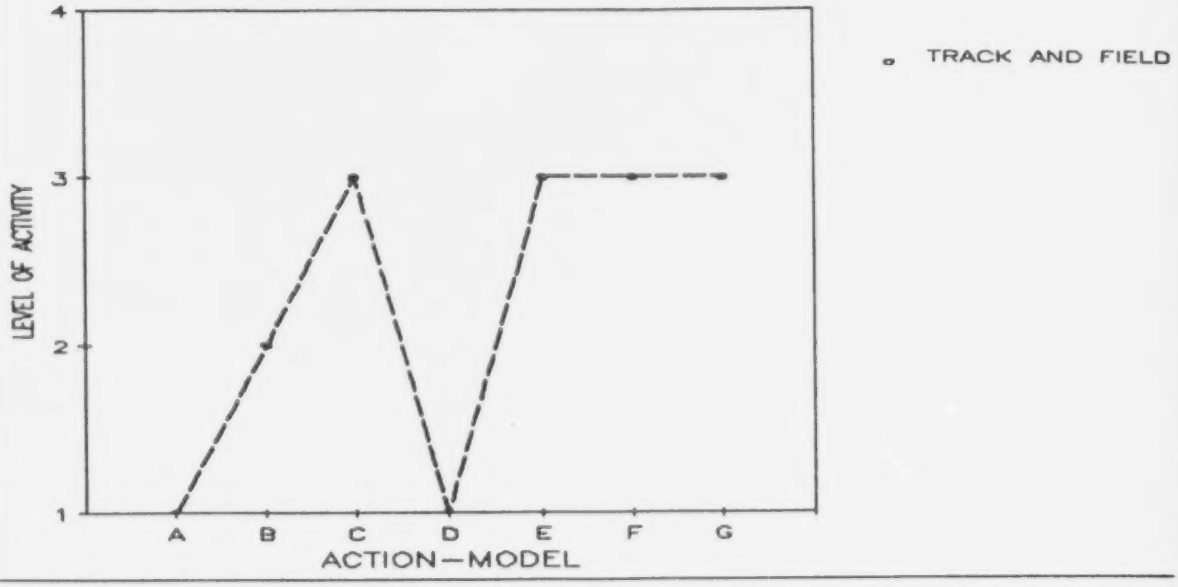
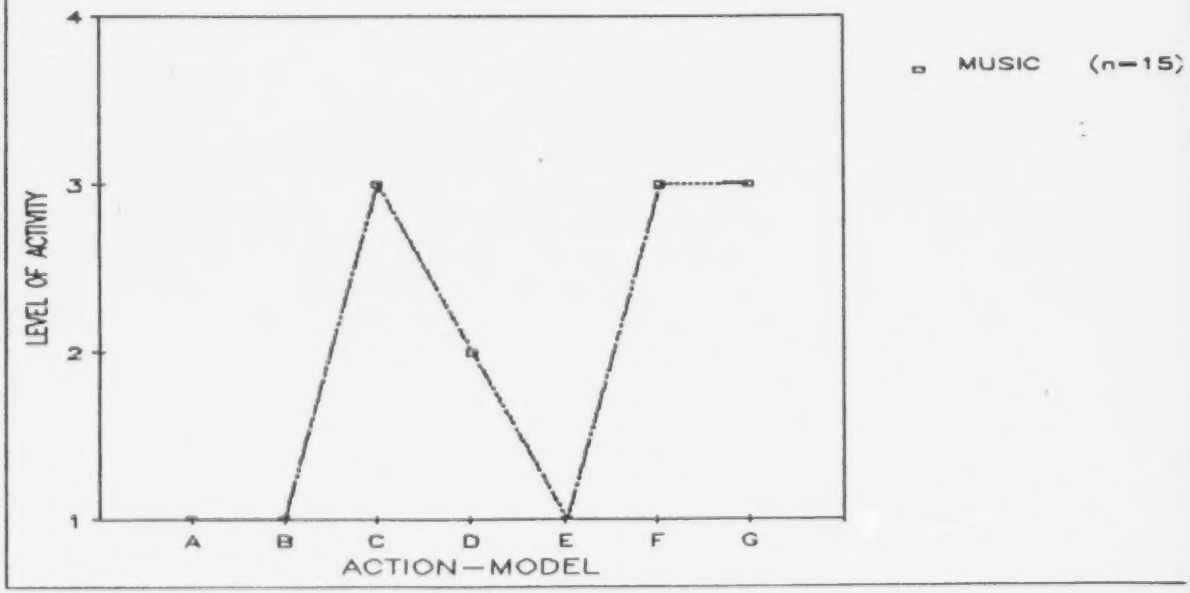


FIGURE 6b: The profile of family life in the group of 15–17–year–old girls: Music (n=15)



expressed their interest in good results. Both younger and older sportsmen regard competitive careers as their goals. One-half of the ice-hockey players expressed as their wish to be able to enter a professional career in ice-hockey. The goals of musicians typically emphasize either self-expression and participation for personal enjoyment or a professional career (e.g. music teacher).

DISCUSSION

There are some problems and principles related to the conclusions in socio-ecological research. The main problem is how to avoid traditional psychological conclusions in which the focus is on a person. It would be of advantage to emphasize the relationships between elements, not the characteristics of elements considered as independent entities (Altman 1987). According to Willems (1973), ecological psychology devotes a great deal of effort to the question of habitability, that is, to the issue of what kinds of environments are fit for human beings to live in. This kind of ecological psychology is concerned with problems such as safety, convenience, comfort, satisfaction, long-term functional achievement, adaptation and expenses.

When we discuss results in socio-ecological research, we should put emphasis on the fit (i.e. congruence, harmony) between a person and his environment. The crucial question related to fit might be - not the habitability - but the psychological and social survival and existence of individual persons and groups of people.

Is there a fit between the child in sports and his environment and what are the possibilities and threats of psychological and social survival and existence of children and their families ? Let's discuss some of the results of the present study from this viewpoint.

First, the questions of the ease of daily life, the amount of adaptation and practical arrangements required and the degrees of freedom available are discussed. Intensive participation in competitive sports may require considerable changes in the way of life and the daily routine of a child especially, when the training is intensive and requires many arrangements. Sports mean certain regularity and goal-orientation in the daily routines of the child. On the other hand, the time and energy spent on sports and the regularity associated with sports may lead to lack of freedom in the child's life and to a danger that the child becomes (as if) too programmed.

The sports activities of a child integrate the family and create contacts to the outer world. Within the family the demands set by sports have, however, to be fitted with other important demands, those of family life, of work and leisure of the parents as well as the needs of other siblings. If no additional

resources (e.g. economical resources, flexible working schedule) are available in the family, the family life becomes easily overloaded.

Next we will discuss the problem, whether the activities in which the children participate, offer enough opportunities for them to adopt various and flexible goals. Goals and achievements are in our time a central part of fields of culture such as sports and music. But on the level of the individuals a plurality of motives and goals exist. One child may lay stress on learning, another on joy and immediate satisfaction, the third is perhaps more ambitious and dreams about his later success. Especially in competitive sports, there is the danger that the opportunity structure is too achievement-oriented and many of the participants have too narrow "personal projects". Furthermore, it is worth considering whether there are enough possibilities for flexibility of goals and sufficient alternatives available for those who want to or have to step aside from their sports or other intensive hobbies.

REFERENCES

Altman I. (1987) Community psychology twenty years later: Still another crisis in psychology ? American Journal of Community Psychology, 15,613-627.

Bronfenbrenner. U. (1979) The ecology of human development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Magnusson D. (1981) Wanted: A psychology of situations. In D. Magnusson (Ed.), Toward a psychology of situations: An interactional perspective. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 9-32.

Moos R.H. & Schaefer J.A.(1986) Life transitions and crises: A conceptual overview. In H. R. Moos (Ed.), Coping with life crises. An integrated approach. New York: Plenum. 3-28.

Nummenmaa T. (1982) How does the family organize the actions of its members. Paper given at the Finnish-Soviet symposium on the research of personality. Tampere, June1982.

Syvänen M. (1982) An ecological approach into the development of children. Acta Psychologica Fennica IX 1982. Finnish Psychological Society.132-136.

Takala M. (1984) Towards a neofunctionalist theory of psychology. In K. Lagerspetz & P. Niemi(Ed.), Psychology in the l990s. North-Holland: Elsevier Science Publishers B.V. 73-92.

Telama R. & Vanhalakka-Ruoho M. (1981) Children's participation in competitive sports and their family. Paper presented in IX. International "Sport and leisure" seminar in Brugge, Belgium, 9-13 September 1981.

Vanhalakka-Ruoho M. (1981) Perhe ja urheileva lapsi. (Family and child in sports) Tampereen yliopiston psykologian laitoksen tutkimuksia 123. (Reports from the Department of Psychology, University of Tampere)

Vanhalakka-Ruoho M. & Asonen M. (1985) Intensiivinen harrastus ja nuoren elämäntilanne. (Intensive hobby and the life situation of youngsters). Liikunta ja tiede 3, 120-129.

Willems E.P. (1973) Behavioral ecology and experimental analysis: Courtship is not enough. In Nesselroade & Reese (Ed.), Life-span developmental psychology. New York: Academic Press. 195-217.

Anja Riitta Lahikainen

Department of Social Psychology
University of Helsinki

THE FAMILY AS A SOCIALIZATION INSTITUTION IN MODERN SOCIETY

Sociologists have commonly regarded the family as an agency for primary socialization, where children are prepared for life **outside** the family. This view has been presented most eloquently by Parsons (1964). When a child grows older other socializing institutions, such as daycare and school are thought to play an increasingly important role in the socialization process. In psychology psychodynamic theorists and attachment-theorists similarly emphasize that the family serves as a primary institution of social, affective and personality development by stressing focusing on the impact of social experiences at a very early age. (e.g. Freud, A., 1966; Bowlby, J.1968).

The primary role of families in socialization has been questioned, especially in sociology since the 1960's and 1970's, when sociologists increasingly focused their attention on the way in which societal changes influence the role of the family. Functionalists even went as far as doubting the very future of the family, suggesting that its functions, even the most primary ones, were being taken over by other societal institutions. The institutions of upbringing, daycare and school, were expected to replace the family to a large extent as an agency of socialization (Aron, R. 1968).

Although the functionalist predictions have not been confirmed, it is clear that the institutional status of the family has been transformed in the last decades. A new Nordic study has attempted to throw light on these changes, and in particular to describe the way in which socialization takes place in modern Nordic societies. In this paper the basic findings of this study are sketched. The basic assumption in the project has been that society has changed so fast and to such an extent that we no longer know what it

means for a child to live in modern society. A holistic analysis of ordinary children's everyday life, in their natural surroundings, was used to explore the kinds of new demands as well as opportunities modern society creates for the socialization of a child. As broad theoretical reference, the theory of symbolic interaction is employed. The project is comparative, including the five Nordic Countries; Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden.

This paper is divided into two parts. In the first part the change of society and its reflections on the condition of the upbringing of children are analysed. The data is based on the secondary analysis of statistics and socialization research in the years 1975-1985 in the Nordic countries. In the second part of this paper the results of the empirical study concerning children who live in the most modern living conditions are presented. This part focuses on comparison between home and daycare institutions as social surroundings from the point of view of social development. It concentrates on the phenomenon, called **belongingness or togetherness**. It refers to the aspect of social interaction, which is meant to be shared by the child and others. The analysis deals with **children's preferences** for the companionship both at home and in the care institution and **the content of the activities shared and emotions expressed** by interacting partners.

The empirical data were collected, in each country, from ordinary 5-year-olds, living in the suburbs of 5 large cities. All the children attended daycare outside the home for at least 15 hours a week. The stratified sample consisted of 10 children from modern middle class families with two parents, 10 children from working-class families with two parents, 5 children from single-parent families and 5 children from two-nucleus families in each country.

A method, the so-called "yesterdays method", was designed in order to acquire information for a deeper insight into the children's social world. Through depth interviews with parents, with the primary institutional caretakers and with children themselves we examined in detail the whole chain of social episodes in which the child had participated the previous day. We focused the interview on the concrete day in order to help the persons we interviewed to remember and to keep them at the concrete level in their descriptions of social interactions. Furthermore, explanations from both the parents and the institutional caretakers concerning each episode were solicited: why

things go as they go, what kind of demands a situation is placing on a child, how are her/his wishes realized and responded to? Thus, we gathered equally extensive and intensive data from the children's experiences both at home and in the daycare institution. This kind of data, I believe, is essential and basic for an analysis of the socialization function both of the family and the daycare institution.

According to the theory of symbolic interaction a child is socialized through experiences **in the social interaction** with others. All partners of a child in social interaction, regardless of the context, are "socializing agents", contributing to the development of the child. This meaningful social interaction is not limited only to those social situations, in which the child's basic needs are met, as psychodynamic theorists imply (i.g., Erikson, E.H., 1950). The child acts and reacts actively and continuously to the messages he/she gets from the the others. When people meet or are together they create a shared social world.

The data analyzed here derives mainly from the transfer situations and the preceding social episodes in the morning reported by parents and institutional caretakers. We selected these situations because we believe they are critical; the relationships between representantives of both milieus are intensified. We further assumed that arrival at the institution and leaving it are mirror-situations from the point of view of family members and caretakers. Arrival signifies separation from the family members and a reunion with the peers and caretakers at the institution, whereas leaving signifies a separation from the representantives of the institution and a reunion with the family members. In addition, an analysis of 24 cases, selected on the basis of data gathered from transfer situations, is used.

1. The impacts of the modernization of society on living conditions of children

The family is an integral part of society and the changes in society as a whole are also reflected in the family. The main features of the changes which have resulted from the **intensification** of production are urbanization, the growth of the amount of education, advances in technology, increased standard of living, increased specialization both of institutions and individual capacities required.

The transformations in the structure of production are reflected culturally in altered

social norms regulating the activities of people. Ideologically modern life is encompassed by new possibilities and challenges. **Secularization** has weakenend the very powerful institution of authority, the church, without offering anything to replace its controlling force. A multiplicity of values, **norm-pluralism** prevails. The changes in society are still occuring at great pace, not least due to increased technologization, consequently the planning of life cannot be based on **tradition**. The power of tradition has weakened. At the same time the possibilities to plan life have increased in principle. (Ziehe-Stubenrauch, 1982).

The effects of societal change are most apparent in Finland, where the restructuring of society from a typical agrarian society to a postindustrial society has taken place in the last four decades. We can arque that this stage of societal development has created a new kind of generation gap. The adult generation cannot use the model of their parents as guides for childrearing because the new child generation lives their childhood in very diffirent circumstances than the former generation (Dencik, L.1988). The adults' possibilities to use their own experiences as a basis for empathy for the child have diminished. Adults show uncertainty e.g. in questions of how to deal with children's interests in television programmes, what kind of toys are acceptable and so on. **Helplessness as parents** finds expression in demand for guidance of specialists concerning all questions of childrearing. The consumption of textbooks on childrearing is especially high in Finland (Lahikainen, Strandell, 1988). The new powergroups of specialists in childrearing have become larger. The relationship between child-professionalists and parents is still diffuse and ambiquious. On the one hand specialists are expected to give help, on the other hand the bare existence of such a group may create uncertainty and **learned helplessness** among parents.

On the level of daily family life the changes are reflected in material living conditions, in the family structure, in the organization of daily activities and in the content of family interaction.

1. Material living conditions of the families.

The material standard of living of families with young children has improved over the last few decades in all the Nordic Countries. It manifests itself especially in an improved housing standard, as well as in an increased disposition over modern utilities. This is especially true of the prototypical family with children, where both parents have jobs and one or two children. The actual economical problems are nevertheless still a reality within the group of single breadwinners. (Dencik, L., Langsted, O., Sommer, D., 1989, Lahikainen, A.R., Strandell, H., 1988).

2. Structure of the family

The number of children has decreased, due to a multiplicity of factors. Children are born by choice more often than before. Having a child is nesessarily an economic decision and its costs can be measured by monetary terms. The child is no longer an asset to the family as he was earlier in the agrarian society and still is in developing countries. The value of the child for the parents is mostly emotional. Most children in the Nordic Countries have only one sibling. (Dencik et all, Lahikainen, Strandell, 1988, Zelinger 1985.)

The increase in the divorce-rate has been striking during the last two decades in the Nordic Countries. This, however, has had an impact mainly on the older age-groups of children. Rather few children, generally speaking, have to experience at an early age the divorce of their parents. In Finland e.g.one child in a thousand experiences divorce of his parents within a year. About 14 percent of young children growing up today in Denmark have experienced their parents divorce during the first seven years of their lives. (Lahikainen- Strandell 1988, Dencik et all 1989).

For more than 90 percent of children younger than seven years the basic family constellation is still a two-parent family in all the Nordic Countries (Lahikainen-Strandell 1988). But if we take a closer look at the relation of the parents, a considerable change has taken place. The popularity of marriage has declined and to significant degree has been replaced by cohabitation. In 1965 only about 10 percent of Danish and Swedish children were born out of wedlock, wheras the proportion today is almost half. In Norway and Finland the marital bind has been stronger; there the proportion of children born out of wedlock is still less than 20 %. (Dencik et all,1989, Lahikainen- Strandell, 1988).

New type of living conditions for the child is to live in two-nucleus family, which is supported by new legislation in the Nordic contries. Most frequently it entails children of divorced parents. The child lives mostly with the divorced mother and possibly with her new family, but has a regular opportunity to also live with the father and his family.

In conclusion the family unit is based more on individual preferences and decisions than earlier. The bonds between family members including relationship of spouses and parent-child relationship, have a more psychological character and they are thus more flexible and vulnerable than earlier.

3. Organization of daily activities of family members

The factor which most decisively organizes family life is the parents' relationship to the labour market. The overriding tendency in the Nordic Countries has been an increased participation in the labour market among the mothers of young children, with more than 80 percent of them belonging to the labour force in the Nordic Countries (Lahikainen-Strandell, 1988). Family life must be time-budgeted in accordance with the schedules of the working time. Family life is concentrated to **certain periods of time**, dayly, weekly, yearly e.g. to mornings, evenings, week-ends and holidays.

4. Content of social interaction between the family members

The problem raised by some family researchers is the exhaustion of family tasks. There are few activities to be done together in the family, as most work has been removed to factories (Aron, 1968). The family is seen as a meeting point of persons, and at the same time an overemotional pot. The family is an institution of reproduction and rehabilition from the point of view of the economical functioning of society.

5. Dual socialization as a basic condition for the development of the child

One of the most striking changes from the child's point of view is the emergence of daycare institutions. From the point of view of the society it means that the socialization task has been partly delegated to the institutions **specialized** in care and upbringing. The **common interest** in socialization of the child finds its expression in the goals and the demands set for these institutions and in the control exercised on the functioning of these institutions bu authorities. Society's interest in the child is realized, among other ways, through the **education of the daycare personnel**. The child is treated with

professional, **pedagocical knowledge by the personnel**. Because the institutional care is financed by the State to a great extent, it is in the interest of the State that it be maximally efficient.

Childrens' his/her everyday life is divided between **two very different worlds**; the home and the daycare institution. I shall here mention some crucial polarities between the family and the daycare institution; the family is a private social environment whereas the daycare institution is public. The family relationships are not exchangeable whereas the institutional relationships are exchangable. The parents' responsibility for the child has a long-term perspective whereas the institutional caretakers' responsibility is limited to the periods when the child is in the institution. In the institution the child is an object of work, in the family the child has a symbolic meaning to the parents.

The factors which organize the activities of everyday life in these two worlds are different. The home is the place for self-care and for the care of the others for all family members, most often patterned somewhat unevenly according to the interests and requirements of all of them. The institutional care is **planned** for the children, and the caretakers organize the daily activities with the help of the **pedagogical view of the child and his/her development.**

Furthermore, there are differences between these two worlds in the composition of the social **partners**. The daycare institution is especially a place where the child meets his **peer-group**. We can ask if there have ever before been so many opportunities for children to systematically meet so many children of the same age as it is in the modern daycare institution.(Lahikainen-Strandell, 1989).

The socialization process is further complicated by the fact that the adults have to share responsibility among themselves for the child; the parents and the **caring professionals** do not necessarily cooperate with each other and their interests in the child can result in conflicts, for many reasons.

II Children's social relations at home and in the daycare institution: some results

The analysis of children's social interactions both at home and in daycare institutions pointed out clearly that the children's parents were the first to share the intense emotions, both positive and negative, with the child. The neutrality of emotions and the scarcity of communication are typical for the child's relationship to the institutional caretaker, although on weekdays the time the child spends in the institution may be longer than at home. The children seem to intensify their emotions in interaction with their parents, and at the same time to concentrate them to mornings, evenings and sometimes nights. This finding raises a lot of questions. To what extent does this result from the childs own preferences? Does the child prefer the parents to the daycare personnel, because they are **the earliest and most permanent** social partners she/he has? Does the child remove the emotions from the institutional caretakers owing to their resistance to receive the intimate contact the child requires of them? What role does the pedogogical view of the child held by institutional caretakers or social organization of institution play? And so on.

The most important social partners for the child in the institutions are the other children who relate to him/her either as a whole collective or in dyadic relationships. The togetherness with the peer-group is expressed by intense involvement in joint activities. The same is true of sibling relations at home, although, the aspect of rivalry is more apparent among siblings than in peer-groups in the daycare institutions.

There are differences among parents, due to their mental characteristics and their concrete life situation, in their readiness to respond to their child's demand for intimacy, individual attention and physical contact. The children seem to persistently require a **minimum quantity** of individual attention and intrest from their parents. At one extreme there are parents who are not mentally available and the child has to use his creativity to find the strategies to get near them and to gain their attention; these strategies may vary from silent obedience to demands for participation in daily tasks at home, hide and seek-games, or negative strategies, including temper tantrums and regressive behaviour, e.g. baby-talk. At the other extreme are highly responsive and empathetic parents.

The pervasive characteristics in our material, however, are the parents' high interest and involvement into the social interaction with their children. The children are often allowed to participate in adult activities. However, it is more typical that parents play with the child or arrange different activities on the basis of the child's own interests.

We found it very interesting to discover that in the busy pattern of family activities there are special social episodes in which the only meaning embedded in them seems to be **signalling mutual togetherness, warmth and physical intimacy.** These rituals are:
-awakening can be a special common ritual shared by the child and the parent. Many children have special preferences, as to how they are to be awakened. For example, Aku allows only his mother to awaken him. She must blow in to his ear just as Tarzan does to Jane.
- the child and the parents have developed special, often long-lasting farewell rituals when leaving home for daycare. They include kisses, hugging and waving goodbye, following the parents.
-ceremonial common meals; many parents point out that breakfast in the morning is an important time to be together as a whole family and they try to make it pleasant by small talk and mutual kindness.
- evening rituals; the parents often set aside an intimate time for the child for discussion, singing together or reading just before the child is going to sleep.
- greeting rituals; meeting of the child and the parent after the day is an event for positive emotional expressions.

Many of these rituals are aimed at, preparing the family members to go then separate ones ways for the day, and expecially at preparing the child to the daycare by an emotional "filling up". The contents of these episodes are personal and the variation is rich according to the family history and the relationships within it. The child may have developed different rituals with the father and the mother and following them is very important to the child, and to the development of the entire day. If e.g. the mother forgets to signal with the lights of the car and blow the horn, when she drives past the window of the daycare center where the child is observing her, he can be desperate for the whole day. Many mothers also say that the awakening process must be done with time and thought, otherwise nothing will succeed in the busy morning.

In addition to these rituals developed in families, many parents prepare the child to leave for daycare with discussions signalling continuity in the relationship; the parents make plans together with the child in the morning about what they will do during the rest of the day or they help the child to plan his/her day at the daycare institution.

We cannot find any clear differences between families belonging to the different social classes. As to the structure of the family, we find cases of very strong emotional charges in the mother-child relationships in single-parent families, especially if there is only one child in the family or when the mother does not have a supporting social network around herself. Intensity of emotions may concentrate either on the positive or the negative extreme in the single-parent family.

Cultural comparison clearly differentiates three countries in the forms of the intimate social life of the family members. The emotions are not expressed very intensily e.g. in transfer situations in Iceland and in Denmark. In Denmark the togetherness of the family is reinforced by the signalling of continuity, by having meals together and by special moments of "hygge sig", a Danish word, which means expressive, intimate, pleasant togetherness. The Danish parents prepare the child for daycare more often than parents in the other Nordic Countries. They participate in planning the day in care with the child. It is connected to somewhat different praxis in Danish daycare institutions, where daily program is fairly open and children are expected to organize their activities themselves.

Our children from Iceland most frequently attend half-day daycare so that they have plenty of time to share with their parents daily. The children are often included in the activities of the adults, but they also show much independency in the planning of their activities at home. In Finland awakening in the mornings is the most special ritual through which togetherness is signaled. This may be connected to the very tight time limit the Finnish families have on weekdays. (Lahikainen-Strandell, 1989).

These observations raise the question of the connection between emotionality expressed in family relationships and the time the family members have to spend together. Is it that the intensification of emotional expressions results from the scarcity of time and fewer emotional expressions are needed when the family has time "enough" to share different kinds of activities?

Discussion

In conclusion I will shortly return to the questions raised in the beginning of this paper concerning the socialization function of the family and the other institutions of childrearing. Despite the scarcity of shared time in modern family-life, family

relationships seem to maintain a great emotional importance resulting from the active struggle of both the parents and children. The family seems to be a very persistent institution, where family members work for its coherence. Our analysis was based on the analysis of children's active strivings towards and with other persons at home and in the daycare institution. This shows that children create different kinds of social relationships in these two milieus. It may be that the parent-child relationship has a special character which makes it difficult or impossible to transfer to adult-relationships of daycare institutions. The children also show a greater interest towards other children in the daycare institution than towards the personnel.

If we think about the societal changes taking place, some aspects of them seem even to enhance the importance of the family as an agency of socialization. The relationships outside the family, including relationships in daycare, have general tendency to become short-lasting as well as shifting from one person to an other. Then the family remains the arena of more lasting and long-term relationships. This aspect has remained in the shadow of the general unrest over the increaseing divorce rate.

It may be that the family socialization has unique features. The evaluation of the impact of daycare cannot then be based totally on the same criteria as the evaluation ot homecare, although their function is partly the same to the child. Only in very special cases is the daycare institution able to compensate for the family as a place of intimacy and reinforcer of individuality. It seems that in understanding the socialization effects of daycare, more weight should be given to the peer-group impacts.

The socialization process is so complicated that any simple comparison between institutions is useless. When the child attends at daycare the family and daycare institution together form an organization and the effects of these institutions on the development of the child are partly independent and different as well as partly dependent and inseparable from each others.

References:

ARON, R.: Progress and disillusionment: The dialetics of modern society. Harmondsworth, 1968.

BOWLBY, J.: Attachment and loss; vol 1: Attachment, Harmondsworth 1968.

DENCIK, L.: Opväxt i postmodernismen. In Born i nye familiemonstre, ed. Jorgensen,

REFERENCES

Aron, R. (1968) Progress and disillusionment: The dialetics of modern society.Harmondsworth, 1968. Bowlby, J. (1968) Attachment and loss; Vol 1: Attachment. Harmondsworth 1968. Denicik, L. (1987) Opvaxt i postmodernismen. In I. Jorgensen & P. Schultz (Eds.), Born i nye familiemonstre. Kobenhavn.

Bowlby, J. (1968) Attachment and loss; Vol. 1: Attachment, Harmondsworth.

Dencik, L. (1987) Opväxt i postmodernismen. In I. Jorgensen, P. Schultz (Eds.), Born i nye familiemonstre. Kobenhavn.

Dencik, L., Langsted, O. & Sommer, D. (1990) Modern childhood in the Nordic Countries: Material, social and cultural aspects. In B. Elgaard, O. Langsted & D. Sommer (Eds.), The selected, annotated bibliography in chilhood socialization in the Nordic Countries, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Erikson, E.H. (1950) Childhood and society. New York.

Freud, A. (1966) Normality and pathology of children. Harmondsworth. Lahikainen, A. R. & Strandell, H. (1988) Lapsen kasvuehdot Suomessa. Helsinki.

Lahikainen, A. R. & Strandell, H. Nya möten, nya gränser. Manuscript for the book: Children´s everyday life and socialization in the Nordic Countries by Andenaes, A., Dahlberg, G., Dencik, L., Haavind, H., Kristiansson, B., Langsted, O., Lahikainen, A.R., Sommer, D., Svahn, B., Strandell, H.

Parsons, T. & Bales, R. (1964) Family, socialization and interaction process. Glencoe, Ill.

Zehe, T. & Stubenrauch, H. (1982) Plädoyer für ungewöhnliches Lernen, Ideen zur Jugendsituation. Hamburg.

Zelinger, V. (1985) Pricing the pricless child. New York.

Helena Miller and Toivo Rönkä
The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare

PARENT SCHOOL - THE RIGHT OF EVERY PARENT

We have recently experimented in Finland with a program that employs small-group work to activate couples, parents and children. The main objective of this Activation Program is the utilization of all possible resources for the life-long, self-directed growth of the family and all its members. As an approach, the Activation Program is well suited to family life education programs that are part of activities at schools, health centres, kindergartens and local adult education institutes.

The general aims of this Activation Program (which has been tested with more than 30,000 parents, thousands of pupils, and 3,000 trained experts) and its applications to the 'learning togetherness' course for couples are as follows:

GENERAL AIMS OF THE ACTIVATION PROGRAM
(with the new method of principle training/education)

1. CULTURE-SOCIETY: Integration of individuals and families with society and culture

2. COMMUNITY: Getting acquainted with other participants

3. VALUES CLARIFICATION: Raising the level of awareness (life-guidance awareness)

4. SELF-KNOWLEDGE: Strengthening
   self-confidence
   self-image

5. LEARNING NEW COMMUNICATION SKILLS (+ knowledge)

   1. The listener's skills
   2. The speaker's skills
   3. Skills to make decisions and cope with problems

6. Getting the idea of

   1. A LIFE-LONG LEARNING PROCESS
   2. ASSERTIVENESS IN INFLUENCING ONE'S OWN AFFAIRS

The Activation Program seeks primarily to get participants to analyze themselves as partners, educators or colleagues. Three aspects of interaction are analyzed: power (confronting problems and clarifying values), flow of information (reciprocity in the expression of feelings and needs) and role (division of labour and self-knowledge).

The Activation Program seeks to increase acceptance (especially the exercise of power in conflict situations), caring (the flow of information and especially of feelings) and trust (clarification of roles and division of labour) among couples, families and children in everyday situations.

Acceptance, caring and trust are called lay principles to distinguish them from professional principles. Participants learn to use them in handling recurrent problem situations where more love alone (acceptance, caring and trust) is not enough. Participants increase their expertise by learning to apply the following professional principles to problem situations:

"All feelings are acceptable and as such permitted." "One cannot solve another person's human relations problems on his behalf." "Start with yourself in conflict situations concerning needs."

This new method of family education is called Principle Training/Education.

The following practical recommendations can be made on the basis of experiments with the Activation Program described above. These recommendations may be of use in determining the basic premises needed to plan support for young couples through family education in school, through 'learning togetherness' courses for dating and married couples or through parents' groups. A new compulsory subject, 'family education and consumer education ', was introduced in the ninth grade of Finnish comprehensive schools in 1985.

1. Also a positive point of departure for handling problem situations

The above-mentioned objectives emphasize a personal resource-based approach in courses for young couples/parents. In other words, the starting point fort improvement and solutions to problems is always sought in oneself, in one's partner or in human relations in general.

The negative atmospheres that cause recurrent problems in education are always redefined during the course and made positive (indulgent education/child with psychosomatic problems, 'free' education/child with overanxious or aggressive symptoms and authoritarian education/child with depressive symptoms). In a suppressive family, for example, problems are denied as a result of indulgent, binding education. The following is the

positive redefinition: "The family that loves and educates with too much togetherness." (Compare: Minuchin et al., Psychosomatic families 2).

According to this conception, problems in human relations are generally seen as developmental tasks and challenges related to the developmental stage of the individual and/or couple/family. Most developmental problems and crises happen during major changes in life situations, such as when a couple's relationship becomes more permanent (moving in together), the birth of a child and starting a day-care center or school. Even psychic illnesses are seen as the result of not attending to problems in human relations caused mainly by developmental or situational crisis (for example unemployment or an accident). In other words they can usually be handled when all those concerned work together to solve the latent problems in human relations.

2. Developments and conditions in society at large have a direct effect on human relations in the home

In dealing with both a couple's relationship and with human relations in a family, it is important to stress that society, for example legislation, and living conditions, for example the quality of work, have a direct effect on human relations in the home. Worries about family finances and work may imperceptibly tax the family's strength to the extent that the couple/parents are no longer able to show affection, respect or otherwise take positive note of each other or of their children.

Problems caused by surroundings (poor housing) or finances have a crucial effect on human relations in the home in the negative ways mentioned below. These effects should be explained in all family education seeking to prevent the difficulties confronted by couples/parents.

a. With respect to power: controlling matters outside the home.

Problem couples/families feel that control of their own affairs and also of problems in human relations lies outside the home (although these problems could be alleviated by better use of time).

b. With respect to role: the boundaries between generations are blurred.

As worries tax the human resources needed in problem situations, the generation boundary between couples/parents and their own parents and children is blurred. Either they do not accept them, renounce them or are too dependent on them. Fatigue, for example, makes parents give into their children, and the children may even assume the role of parent. When a child displays aggressive symptoms in a divorce situation it is important to restore the parent's legitimate authority and adult role, and permit the child

to be a child (prevent him from becoming the psychological partner of one of the parents), e.g. through discussion of the negative feelings that a divorce situations always arouses in a child and in other members of the family.

c. With respect to the flow of information: the problem of isolation.

Problem couples/families are isolated from one another as family members and from relations with friends or relatives outside the immediate family. Thus the psychological isolation of the family from external human relations as well as the psychological isolation between individuals at home are two of the factors most likely to cause psychic problems. In isolation problems are not confronted and become more difficult; minor problems become major ones.

3. Practice in interaction concerning empathy and self-expression alone do not develop problem-solving skills

Experimental studies show that exercises in human relations courses concentrating solely on empathy and self-expression do not noticeably improve the participant's problem-solving skills without actual practice. Moreover, the problems dealt with must be realistic, and must arise from the participant's own needs and situations.

Also, all exercises aimed at developing skills in interaction are merely technical, without any really permanent effect on human relations, unless they also deal with the values related to human relations. In this sense practice in giving recognition is in general more important than practice in empathy, because noticing another person and giving recognition in a natural way increases the visible respect received from another person in everyday life. In other words, positive attention is generally a clearer form of recognition than merely listening to another person.

In problem-solving exercises it i important for the practical skills of the participants to develop so that problems of human relations can really be solved. A couple's happiness does not depend so much on how many problems there are in everyday life, but on the kinds of problem-solving skills the couple possess, and most of all on whether they use all possible resources to solve their problems. If this attitude is lacking, then the relationship is too readily determined by stereotyped, self-deceiving principles, such as "everything will be fine as long as we just love one another, but won't be if we don't".

The existence of common goals is extremely important for the success of the couple's relationship.

4. Everything must arise from the participant's needs and all forms of coercion must be avoided

Achievement of the goals of activation mentioned at the outset, as is usually the case in similar programs, requires that the entire program be based on needs expressed by the participants.

The emphasis in the program's goals must also be based on the needs and identities of the participants. Different aspects can be stressed depending on whether the course is held in town or in the country, and whether the participants are men or women. It has, for example, been observed that men cannot be forced to expand their range of self-expression radically if they have not had adequate preparation for this step. One study has shown that when women increased their own genuine self-expression and men reduced their aggressive self-expression, the problems with chronically ill children diminished noticeably. In the country excessive energy on the part of the women may threaten the man's traditional role as head of the family, and for this reason changes should come gradually, step by step.

5. The methods for learning skills in human relations must be developed

Learning human relations and educational skills is a comprehensive process, for the acquisition of information alone develops neither new skills that can be repeated in everyday situations, nor active awareness. Comprehensive learning occurs when the individual, activated in a diversity of ways, acquires new knowledge that leads to change and a reordering of emotions, attitudes, thoughts and observable behaviour through a raising of the awareness "here and now", based on emotional experience. This new learned behaviour can subsequently be used as a skill in various everyday situations; it is consciously controlled, and requires awareness of the educational process; one should also be able to cope with everyday situations and have the capacity to direct one's life in a broader sense.

In the process of comprehensive learning, information is internalized, i.e. it becomes knowledge that is converted into a new skill to be applied to the various situations of everyday life. It is not merely the old spontaneous way of reacting to a situation. The chain of learning depicted here: information - internalized knowledge - consciousness of situations, methods, and the educational process (educational and life-guiding awareness), is called comprehensive learning.

The point of departure for small group parent education is confidence in the parents' own resources and potential for dealing with the problem situations of life and education. It encourages participants in parents' schools in the same stage of the life cycle to increase their own educational

awareness and to develop the important everyday skills needed in education and parenting.
Extensive research on small group training in parent education and especially at child welfare clinics is getting under way. The University of Jyväskylä, the City of Jyväskylä
and the Mannerheim League for Child Welfare and cooperating in the project.

SYSTEMATIC PARENT EDUCATION PLAN

Sensitivity periods: for all parents	
1. PARENT SCHOOL No. I - a child is expected	- MATERNITY CLINIC AT MUNICIPAL HEALTH CENTER
2. MATERNITY HOSPITAL - new arrangements, short courses	- PARENT ACTIVATION OPERATION FAMILY STUDY
3. PARENT SCHOOL No. 2 - children up to one year old	- CHILD CARE CLINIC AT HEALTH CENTER
4. PARENT SCHOOL No. 3 - children 1-4 years old	- CHILD CARE CLINIC AT HEALTH CENTER
- children 7 years old	5. PARENT SCHOOL No. 5 - SCHOOL: FIRST GRADE OF THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL
- children about 13-14 years old	6. PARENT SCHOOL No. 7 - 7th GRADE THE PUPIL ENTERS THE UPPER LEVEL COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

REFERENCES

Dahms, A. (1974) Intimate hierarchy. In E. Powers & M. Lees (Eds.), Process in relationship: Marriage and family. St. Paul, West Publishing House.

L'Abate, L. & L'Abate B. (1979) The paradoxes of intimacy. Family Therapy, 9, 175-184.

Minuchin, S., Rossman, B.L., & Baker, L. (1978) Psychosomatic families. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Rönkä, T. (1983) Developing new methods in family education. Report on Finnish procedure in the OECD/CERI project: The Educational Role of the Family. The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare, Helsinki.

Rönkä, T. (1986) Why new methods are needed in the prevention and treatment of child abuse and similar family problems. The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare, Helsinki.

Warmbrod, M. (1982) Alternative generation in marital problem solving. Family Relations, 31.

The Mannerheim League for Child Welfare, Finland
Based on a paper written for the XIII International Congress of IFPE, RETHYMON, Crete, July 1-6, 1986 by Toivo Rönkä, program director. Revised by Helena Miller, project chief.

Magda Kalmar and Judit Boronkai
Institute of Psychology
Eötvös University of Budapest

EFFECTS OF PARENTAL ATTITUDES AND OTHER FAMILY VARIABLES ON THE MENTAL DEVELOPMENT OF PREMATURELY BORN CHILDREN

Premature birth is one of the most common biological risk factors threatening the early life and development of a child. The literature about the later outcome of preterm birth is rather controversial. Several follow-up studies have revealed high percentages of some deficit of mental development - ranging from mild to severe handicaps - in groups of children born prematurely. In contrast, a number of researchers have reported data suggesting that on the whole the mental growth of preterm children is comparable with that of their non-risk peers.

Naturally, prematurity by no means represents a homogeneous condition, therefore its long-term effects depend on a number of other variables. In some of the recent studies a great number of potentially relevant perinatal variables have been taken into account - such as birth weight, and whether or not (and to what extent) the infant was sick at birth, etc. However, the results based upon very refined perinatal risk scales (e.g. Parmelee's Obstetric and Postnatal Complication Scales) still leave part of the contradiction unsolved: the predictive power of even these multiple criteria appears to be relatively short-lived, that is, it rarely goes beyond a few years.

It has become clear by now that the existence of a biological risk condition does not permit any direct prediction of developmental outcome. Considering the huge literature on the determinants of mental growth in normal children it is very natural to expect that, besides the perinatal risk status, the social situation of the family contributes to the development of mental abilities in preterm children too.

First of all, one must be aware of the fact that the birth risks are frequently associated with poor social circumstances. This implies that if in a particular study it has not been taken into account that the incidence rates of premature birth in higher and lower social strata are different, low SES is likely to be overrepresented in the preterm sample when compared to a randomly selected control group of full-term children.

This research has been supported in part by a grant from the Secretariat of Research in Public Education (OKKFT Ts-4) and the National Pediatric Institute.)

This in itself could account for a poorer average performance of the preterm group. In some recently published studies the possibility of such a methodological shortcoming has been ruled out by using control samples matched for SES. It seems, however, that this alone cannot explain the inconsistency of findings: in order to understand the diverse pathways of mental growth in children born at biological risk the inclusion of environmental variables in the analysis is indispensable. Large-scale longitudinal projects have provided convincing evidence that environment has the power to reduce or amplify the developmental problems related to prematurity and other perinatal complications (Caputo et al, 1981; Hunt, 1981; Sigman et al, 1981; Wallace & McCarton, 1985). The majority of children with good socioeconomic background, even if they were quite high-risk at birth and developmentally delayed in early infancy, gradually "catch up", while those from socially disadvantaged families do not (Drillien, 1964; Drillien et al, 1980; Werner et al, 1971, 1978, 1982).

Over the last two decades more and more researchers interested in the mechanisms of mental development have realised that the SES of the family alone, however powerful, is not a sufficient indicator of the quality of a child's home learning environment.

As Deutsch (1973) warned, if any relationship between SES and behaviour is found, it should be interpreted only as a first step of an investigation aiming to clarify the processes underlying the relationship. A number of authors (e.g. Dave as well as Wolf, both cited by Elardo and Bradley, 1981; Hanson, 1975; Henderson et al, 1972; White & Carew, 1973; Yarrow et al, 1973) have reported positive correlations between the children's mental growth and features of the home environment like intellectual interests and activities in the home, stimulation provided to explore the environment, provision of opportunities for learning, parental involvement with the child, intensity of communication, achievement press, valuing language and school-related behaviour.

Although, as Sigel et al. (1984) note, it is certainly difficult to identify one particular aspect of parental behaviour that promotes children's intellectual capacity, in the past years some remarkable findings have been published in this respect. In a longitudinal study of Ramey et al. (1979) the mothers' behaviours and attitudes could account for more than half of the variability in 3-year-olds' IQs. Sigel (1982) has found that the use of distancing teaching strategies by parents is correlated with their children's intellectual performance.

Caldwell and her associates designed an instrument called the "Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment" to assess systematically a broad array of transactions, events, and objects in the child's environment, regarded as potentially important for development (Caldwell &

Bradley, 1984, 1985). This research team in a series of reports present evidence of the relationship between the child's intellectual status and environmental variables such as provision of appropriate play materials, organisation of physical and temporal environment, opportunities for variety and daily stimulation, and mother-infant interaction (Bradley & Caldwell, 1976; Elardo et al, 1975, 1977). In the longitudinal studies of Caldwell and her associates "the setting as a structured environment" model (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983 is implied.

So far not too many investigators studying preterm children have attempted to go beyond the use of SES in classifying the families to detect the "home environmental processes" (Deutsch, 1973). The Los Angeles follow-up study provided evidence of the influence of the caregiver-infant interaction as well as of the language background (Sigman et al, 1981) and in the same project Sigman and Parmelee (1979) succeeded in validating a cumulative risk score by the inclusion of some caregiver-infant interaction measures. Pederson et al. (1986) found the degree of maturity and responsiveness of maternal behaviour to be a significant component of the developmental progress in low-birthweight infants.

Among the increasing number of projects employing the HOME inventory to assess these "home environmental processes" recently there are a few which involve prematurely born children. Bradley et al. (1987) reported that several HOME subscales covering social and physical stimulation were significantly correlated with the developmental status of preterm infants. Furthermore, Siegel (1982) as well as Smith et al. (1982) have demonstrated that such HOME factors could account for those cases which have turned out to be false positives in the prediction from perinatal risk conditions to early childhood outcome. Our follow-up of a group of preterm children (different from the target sample of the present study) to school-age yielded similar results: a home environmental process-variable labelled as "intellectual fostering" predicted scholastic achievement and the level of a variety of related abilities better than SES (Kalmar, 1988).

The data to be reported in the present paper are part of a long-term follow-up study aimed to investigate the interplay of various factors contributing to the developmental outcome in prematurely born children.

METHOD

Subjects

Our target sample (n=58; male:26, female:32) was recruited from among relatively low-risk preterm children, since it has been one of the objectives of the study to detect the later effect of premature birth itself, not

confounded, as far as possible, by any other biological risk factors. The gestations age ranged between 29-37 weeks (mean: 34 weeks); birth weight between 1050-2450 grams (mean: 1771 grams). The control group consists of 100 full-term, healthy born children (male:53, female:47).

Measures

Biological variables: prenatal history, gestational age, birth weight, and perinatal risk index (for the preterm group only).

Environmental (family) variables: SES - as scored at the time of birth (SES1) and at the 6-year follow-up (SES2), family climate, intellectual stimulation, and parental attitudes.

Outcome measures: - Up to 3 years of age: the ages at which the milestones of the psychomotor development were achieved; - From 3 years onwards: IQ tests, visual-motor and attention tests. - Teacher rating scale on school adaptation and progress.

The families (at least the mother-child dyads) were seen once in every three months during the first year, then twice a year until the third birthday of the child, since then the follow-ups have taken place around each birthday. The study is still in progress; so far the data gathered up to the 6th birthday of the children have been processed. In the analysis to be presented here only the Budapest-Binet IQ scores are used as outcome measures.

Most of the information on environmental quality presented and discussed by the studies referred to in the introductory part of this paper was obtained through interview technique. Caldwell's opinion is that interviews are generally not adequate to assess some important parent behaviours (Caldwell & Bradley, 1989); therefore the HOME inventory involves a combination of observation and interview techniques.

In the interpretation of the personal and physical aspects of the environment we adopted the "setting as a structured environment" model (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983) which is implied in the HOME inventory. Concerning the methodological aspect, we fully agree with Caldwell's criticism of the exclusive use of interviews and her claim for the advantage of combining it with observation.

The present paper is not based on HOME factor scores. When working with the full-term sample we had no opportunity to administer the full HOME inventory. With the preterm group we are using the elementary school-age version of the HOME scale. As the children constituting the sample were born four years apart, they are gradually coming to school age, thus to date

HOME scores have been available for a certain portion of the sample only (therefore these scores are not included in the analysis).

In designing our project, however, we had Caldwell's critical remark in mind, and a combination of observation and interview techniques has been used from the first encounter with the families, throughout the follow-ups. Items and categories for conducting the observations and interviews as well as for analysing the data were drawn from the Fels Parental Behaviour Rating Scale (Baldwin et al,1945), the interview on child rearing by Sears, Maccoby & Lewin (1957), the Parent Attitude Research Instrument ((Schaefer & Bell), the Family Environment Scale (Moos,1974), and the HOME inventory (Caldwell & Bradley, l984,1985).

The shortcoming of not possessing data on all aspects covered by the full HOME inventory may in part be compensated by the advantage of having regular, long term contact with the families, in contrast to the "single-observation" nature of the usual administration of the HOME scale.

In order to perform statistical analysis, the observational and interview data were transformed into scores allocated on rating scales covering two important dimensions of the quality of the home environment. In the present analysis information pertaining to the age period beyond infancy (up to 6 years) has been included. One of the scales yields a composite measure called "family climate", which, besides the quality of the general emotional climate, covers aspects like demands, control, encouragement of competence, and intensity of communication. The other scale attempts to capture more specifically the "intellectual stimulation" provided for the child.

In addition to scoring the family climate and the intellectual stimulation, each mother's attitude towards the child was designated into one of patterns. The categories were set up after the models of 'maternal behaviour by Becker (1964), Lamb and Baumrind (1978), and Schaefer (1959). In addition to the dimensions of acceptance - rejection and permissiveness - restrictiveness aspects like support, protection, the types of demands, the types of punishment, and the consistence and predictability of the mother's behaviour were taken into consideration. The final list of categories were decided upon after a preliminary analysis of the records of interviews and observations. The items of the "family climate" scale and the elements constituting the patterns of maternal attitudes overlap, but while the "family climate" scale yields scores, i.e. a quantitative index, the use of the categories of maternal attitudes has been meant to serve a descriptive qualitative analysis.

FINDINGS

Comparison of the samples on the basic measures

In SES there is no difference between the preterm and the fullterm sample (the mean scores are practically the same and the SDs are also very similar) although the groups were not selected initially on purpose as samples matched for SES (Figure 1). The statistical comparisons were performed by the ANOVA.

Naturally it cannot be inferred from this that in Hungary the incidence of premature birth should be independent from social circumstances. The willingness for cooperation on the part of the family which was indispensable for the inclusion in the study is very likely to have had a strong selective effect on the composition of the samples, mainly in that the very chaotic, deviant families of the lowest socio-economical level are missing or at least very much underrepresented.

Even in this socially non-representative preterm sample there are, however, some trends related to SES that may be worth mentioning (see Figure 2).

At the lowest socio-economical level the average birth-weight is lower, at the highest socio-economical level it is higher than the average of the total group, although the correlation between these two variables is not significant. The breakdown of the means of the risk-index indicates the same tendency (the lower the SES, the higher the risk scores, and with the SESI there is a negative correlation of marginal statistical significance). There is no similar pattern for gestational age.

These findings suggest that premature birth as an accident may happen in any family, regardless of SES, but at a low social level it is more likely to be associated with the baby being small-for-gestational age that involves intrauterine complications.

The average SES scored at the children's six years of age is somewhat higher than the same measure at birth. The increase which amounts to about 2 points in both groups is primarily due to some improvement of the housing situation; besides, some parents obtained higher qualifications between the two measurement points (see Figure 1).

The Family Climate scores are somewhat higher in the families with preterm children (the difference is of marginal statistical significance, p= .05). This measure is significantly correlated with the SES in both groups, but the correlation is stronger for the full-term sample.

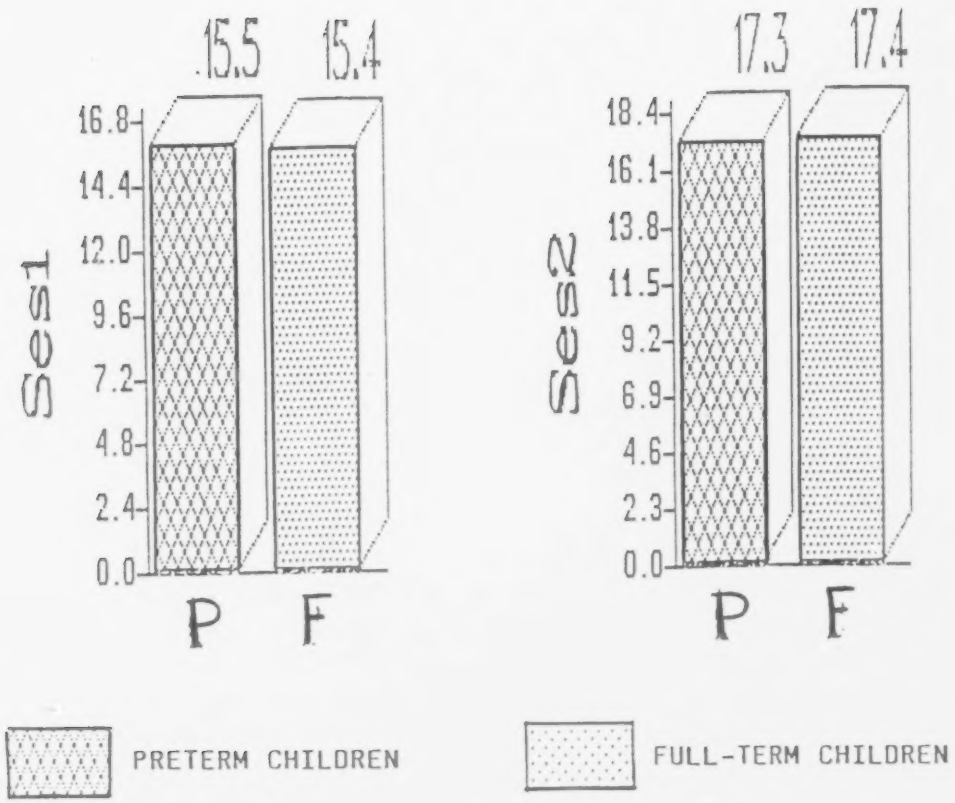

15.5
15.4
16.8
14.4
12.0
9.6
7.2
4.8
2.4
0.0
Ses1
P
F
17.3
17.4
18.4
16.1
13.8
11.5
9.2
6.9
4.6
2.3
0.0
Ses2
P
F
PRETERM CHILDREN
FULL-TERM CHILDREN

Figure 1

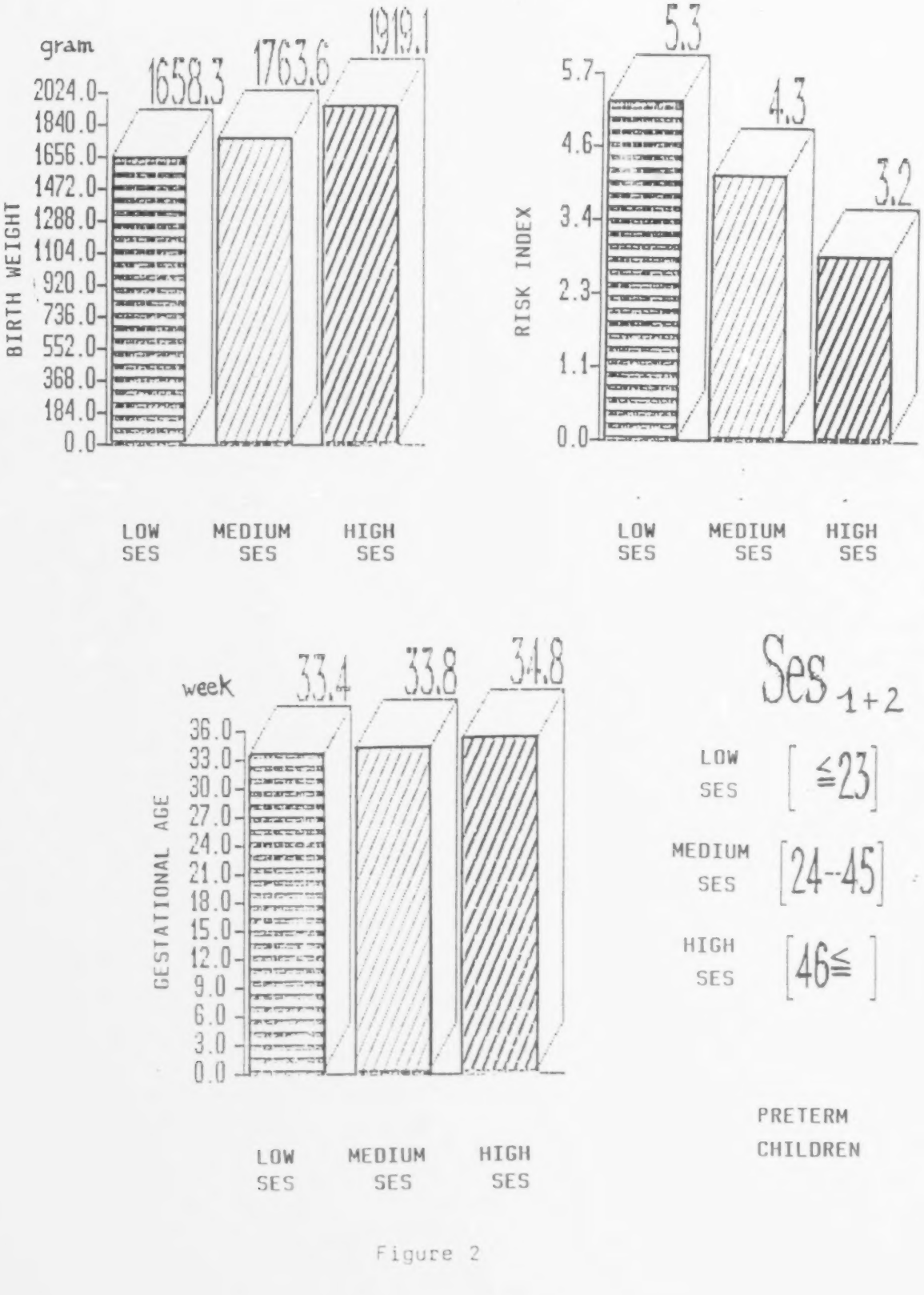

gram
BIRTH WEIGHT
2024.0
1840.0
1656.0
1472.0
1288.0
1104.0
920.0
736.0
552.0
368.0
184.0
0.0
1658.3
1763.6
1919.1
LOW SES
MEDIUM SES
HIGH SES
RISK INDEX
5.7
4.6
3.4
2.3
1.1
0.0
5.3
4.3
3.2
LOW SES
MEDIUM SES
HIGH SES
week
GESTATIONAL AGE
36.0
33.0
30.0
27.0
24.0
21.0
18.0
15.0
12.0
9.0
6.0
3.0
0.0
33.4
33.8
34.8
LOW SES
MEDIUM SES
HIGH SES
Ses 1+2
LOW SES [≦23]
MEDIUM SES [24--45]
HIGH SES [46≦]
PRETERM CHILDREN

Figure 2

The Intellectual Stimulation scores are significantly higher in the preterm group ($p<.01$). It is quite likely to be related to the parents' efforts to compensate for the initial developmental delay which is quite common in prematurely born infants. The correlations between this measure and other family variables (SES, Family Climate) are high (Figure 3).

The breakdown of the patterns of maternal attitudes is similar for the two groups in that the large majority of mothers love their children, and as far as the other aspects are concerned, a reasonably authoritative ("quasi democratic") attitude is the most common (which again may be related to the samples having been selected on the basis of the parents' interest in participating in the project). See Figure 4.

Typical concomitants of the different maternal attitudes

If we go into more details, however, we can find indications of important specific relationships underlying either the above globally similar breakdowns of maternal attitudes or the high intercorrelations of the family variables.

The mothers of preterms hardly ever (altogether in two cases) reject their children, and the percentage of the accepting, democratic attitude is even more prevailing. Surprisingly, the percentage of overprotective mothers is not higher among those with preterm children, they are, however, more often demanding in respect of achievements. We may speculate that in some mothers perfectionism is a reaction to the initial developmental problems of the child, thus related to the compensatory efforts. This assumption is corroborated by the high "intellectual stimulation" scores in this subgroup that is not a concomitant of the perfectionist maternal attitude in the full-term sample.

The perinatal status of the preterm baby does not seem to have a major impact on the mother's attitude after infancy. Over-permissiveness is an exception: the children of such mothers had higher birth-weights, hence presumably caused less concern as to their prospects. In the full-term sample this attitude is often associated with low SES which is not typical of the preterm sample. What these subgroups in both samples have in common is a relatively poor intellectual outcome of the children, which, in turn, may have something to do with the less-than-average intellectual stimulation provided for children of permissive mothers.

The IQs of children of "democratic" mothers are higher than average. In the full-term children it may be related to SES because the mean SES score of these families is also relatively high. It is not true, however, for the families with preterms: the mothers from high SES families tend to be rather overprotective toward their preterm children. The children of

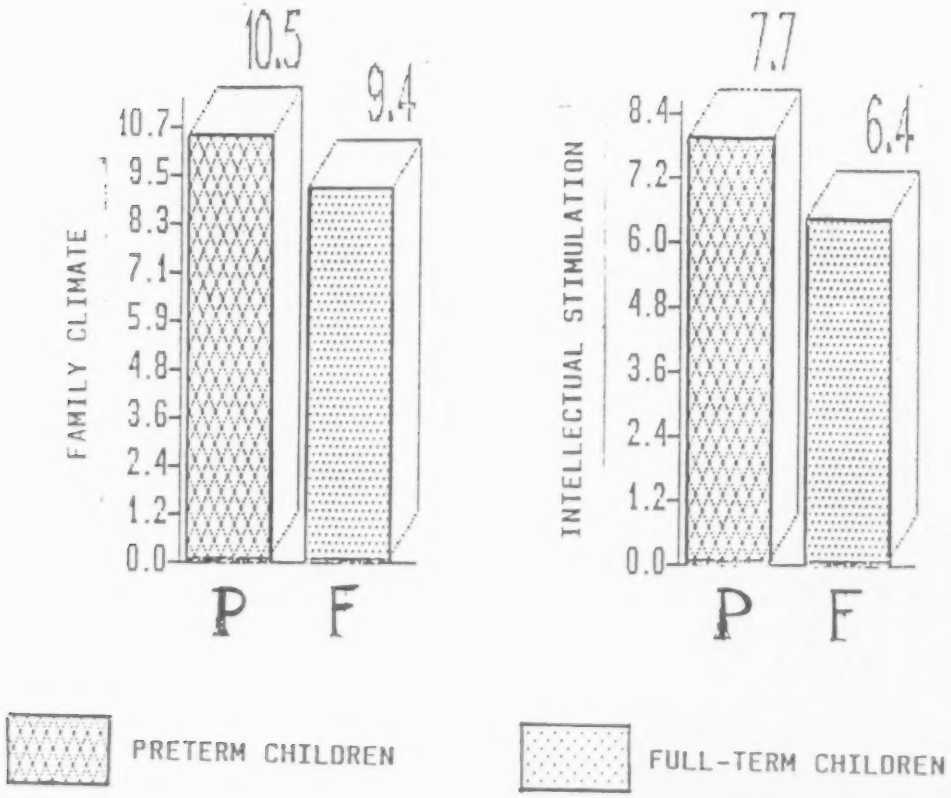

10.5
9.4
10.7
9.5
8.3
7.1
5.9
4.8
3.6
2.4
1.2
0.0
FAMILY CLIMATE
P
F
7.7
6.4
8.4
7.2
6.0
4.8
3.6
2.4
1.2
0.0
INTELLECTUAL STIMULATION
P
F
PRETERM CHILDREN
FULL-TERM CHILDREN

Figure 3

PATTERNS OF MATERNAL ATTITUDES

8. ACCEPTING, REASONABLY AUTHORITATIVE, "DEMOCRATIC"
7. ACCEPTING, INDULGENT, OVERPOTECTIVE
6. ACCEPTING, PERMISSIVE
5. ACCEPTING, ACHIEVEMENT-DEMANDING, PERFECTIONIST
4. REJECTING, NEGLECTING
3. REJECTING, RESTRICTIVE, AUTHORITARIAN
2. - " - (different punishment)
1. INCONSISTENT, UNPREDICTABLE, UNCONTROLLED EMOTION-GOVERNED

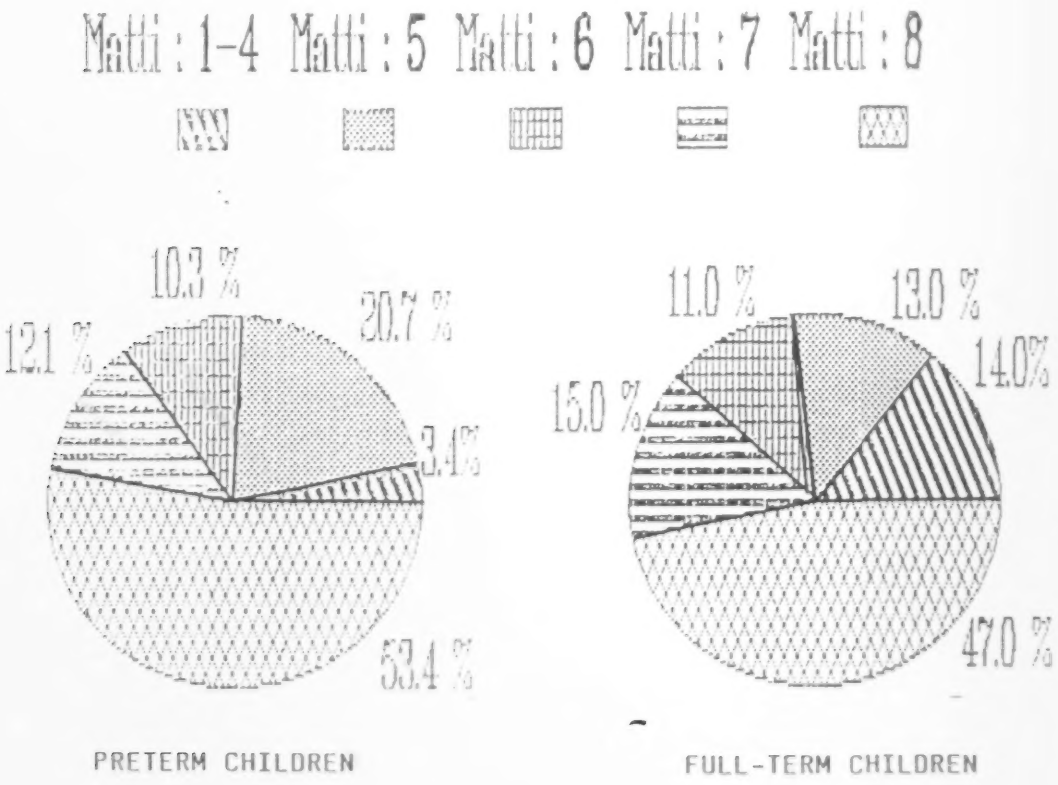


Figure 4

overprotective mothers often have lower-than-average IQs, although they have steadily improved with age: by 6 years the mean IQs of these subgroups reached the average level of their respective (preterm or full-term) sample.

The families with "democratic" mothers provide a great amount of intellectual stimulation for the child. In the full-term sample the average score of this subgroup is outstanding among the other maternal attitude-subgroups; in the preterm sample three subgroups have very high intellectual stimulation scores (besides the democratic, the overprotective and the perfectionist).

The families with rejecting-neglecting mothers (4 in the full-term, one in the preterm sample) have higher than average SES. It is notable that their advantage is more marked for the second SES scores. As mentioned earlier some increase of the SES scores between the two measurement points is generally typical of both samples, but it is remarkable that the gain in this subgroup is the double of the average. It suggests that the improvement of the socio-economical situation is likely to have priority over child-rearing in the value system of these parents. The children's intelligence is varied, but their positions in the IQ rank orders of the full sample show a downward trend between 3 and 6 years of age (in the beginning the average IQ of this subgroup was slightly above the average of the full sample while at the age of 6 it is already below).

There are only a few (6) rejecting-restrictive (authoritarian) mothers, and exclusively among those with full-term children. In terms of either the other family variables or the intellectual outcome this small subgroup is mixed.

The unpredictable maternal behaviour, governed by uncontrolled (often negative) emotions, is very rare (4 cases in the full-term group and only among the preterms) and always related to low SES. These families are struggling with major everyday problems and the mothers' readiness to participate in the study has been motivated by a need for support, not limited to child rearing questions. In this subgroup the scores for Intellectual Stimulation are much lower than average (the same is true for Family Climate but as noted earlier this measure and the maternal attitude overlap). The average IQs of the full-term children of these mothers are below the average of the total sample but their handicap has decreased between 3 and 6 years of age.

To summarize the relationship between SES and the other family variables, it is notable that for the full-term group the correlations are stronger. Although they are highly significant also for the preterm sample, in the latter case the patterns are complicated by the children's specific birth situation and perinatal status (Figure 5).

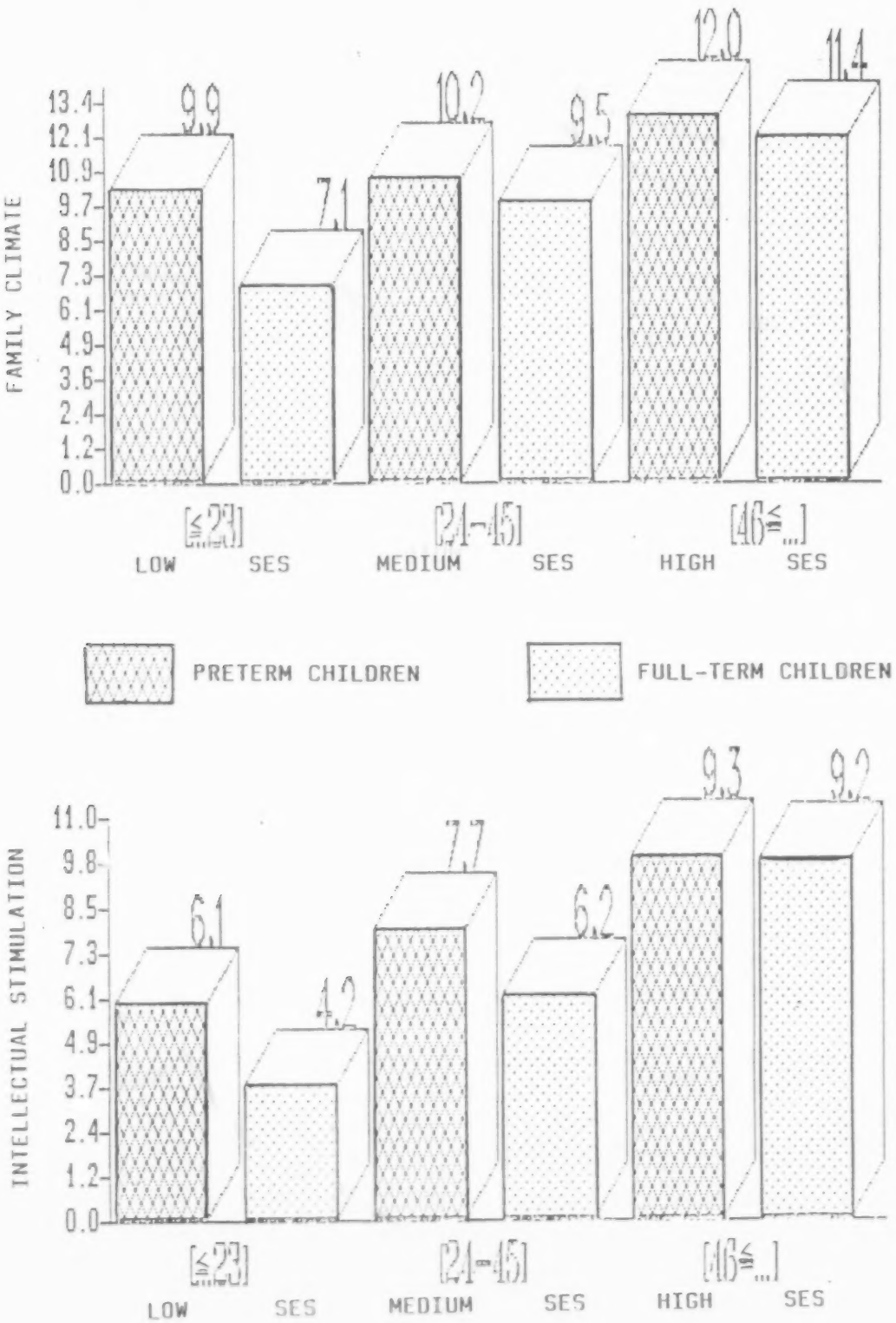

FAMILY CLIMATE
13.4
12.1
10.9
9.7
8.5
7.3
6.1
4.9
3.6
2.4
1.2
0.0
9.9
7.1
10.2
9.5
12.0
11.4
[≤23]
[24-45]
[46≤...]
LOW SES
MEDIUM SES
HIGH SES
PRETERM CHILDREN
FULL-TERM CHILDREN
INTELLECTUAL STIMULATION
11.0
9.8
8.5
7.3
6.1
4.9
3.7
2.4
1.2
0.0
6.1
4.2
7.7
6.2
9.3
9.2
[≤23]
[24-45]
[46≤...]
LOW SES
MEDIUM SES
HIGH SES

Figure 5

As mentioned earlier, both the Family Climate and the Intellectual Stimulation scores are higher for the preterm sample, but the advantage is not evenly distributed. Instead, it mainly applies to lower SES families, and this may in part account for the lower correlations between the SES and the intellectual outcome in preterm children as compared to the full-term group.

Let us have a look at the same data from a different angle - from the outcome measures, the IQs (Figure 6).

Our low-risk prematurely born target children as a group were significantly handicapped at the age of three, but they have caught up by four years, and, interestingly, at five they even outperformed the full-term control group. By the age of six, however, their advantage vanished, and both groups performed at the same level. As far as the potential contributors to mental development are concerned, the picture for the preterm group appears far more complicated (Figure 6).

For the full-term children the correlations between the IQs within the age range of 3 and 6 years and the SES are all highly significant. In contrast, for the preterm group the same correlations are low at three years of age, rise to a moderate level by four and remains the same at five, to reach the 1% significance limit only by the age of 6. As the diagram shows the average SES of the preterm children who scored below 100 on the IQ test is strikingly low: it suggests that these are primarily the children with low IQ who contribute the most to this correlation. The other variables related to the home environment seem to have captured processes that more directly influence the intellectual outcome than SES.

All of the correlations between the IQs (except the preterms' 3-year IQ) and the Family Climate scores are significant, and they are all higher than the respective IQ-SES correlations.

The amount of Intellectual Stimulation has proved to be the most powerful measure to predict intellectual development. With one exception (the full-term sample at the age of 6) always this variable has the strongest correlations with the IQs (Figure 7)

.

In an attempt to clarify the relationships between the intellectual outcome and the predictor variables a stepwise multiple regression analysis was performed (criteria for inclusion = 0.05).

For the preterm group w p at three years of age, no variable met criteria for inclusion. At four, as mentioned earlier, "Intellectual Stimulation" had the strongest correlation with IQ. With this effect partlalled out, two of the

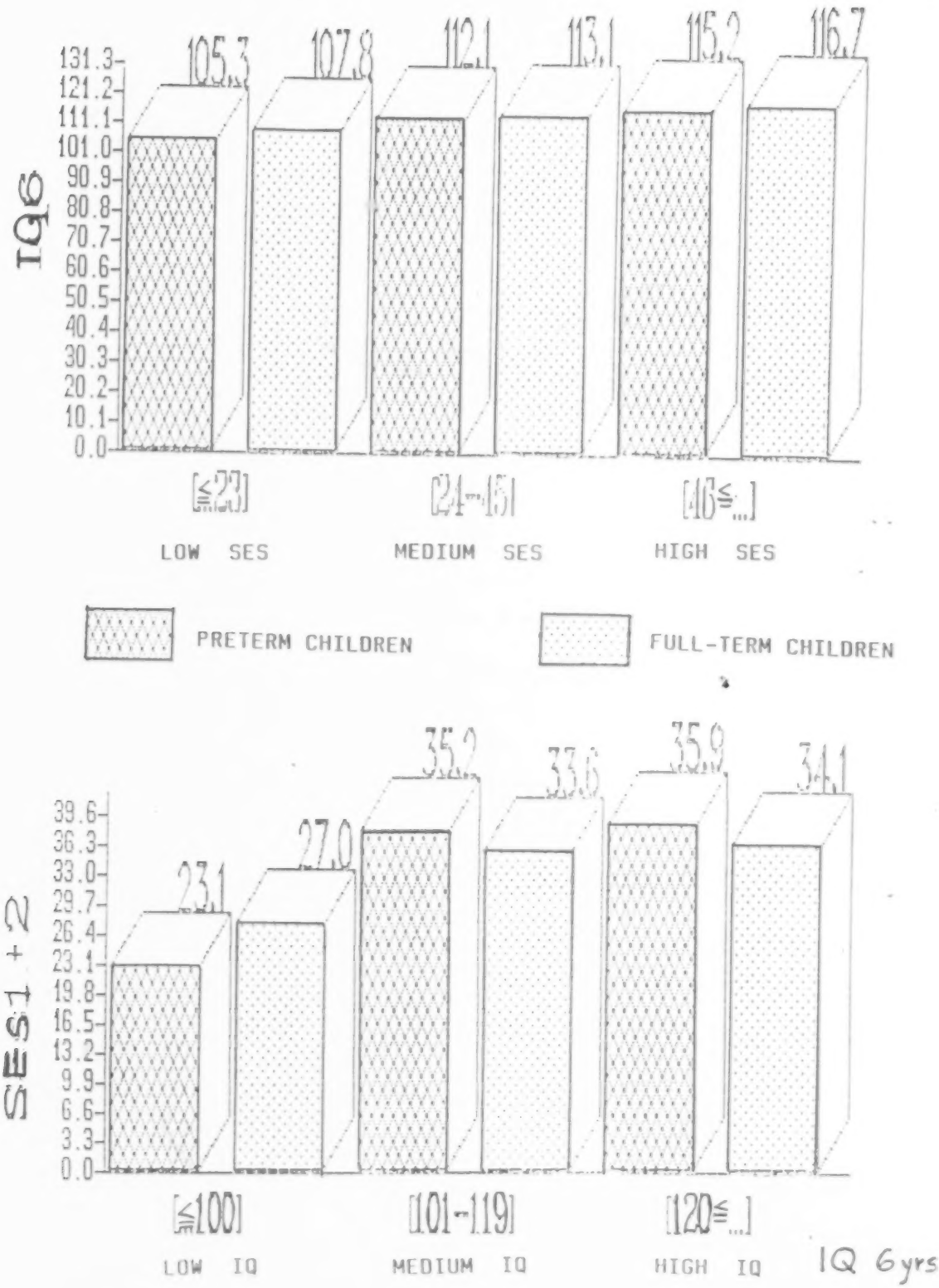
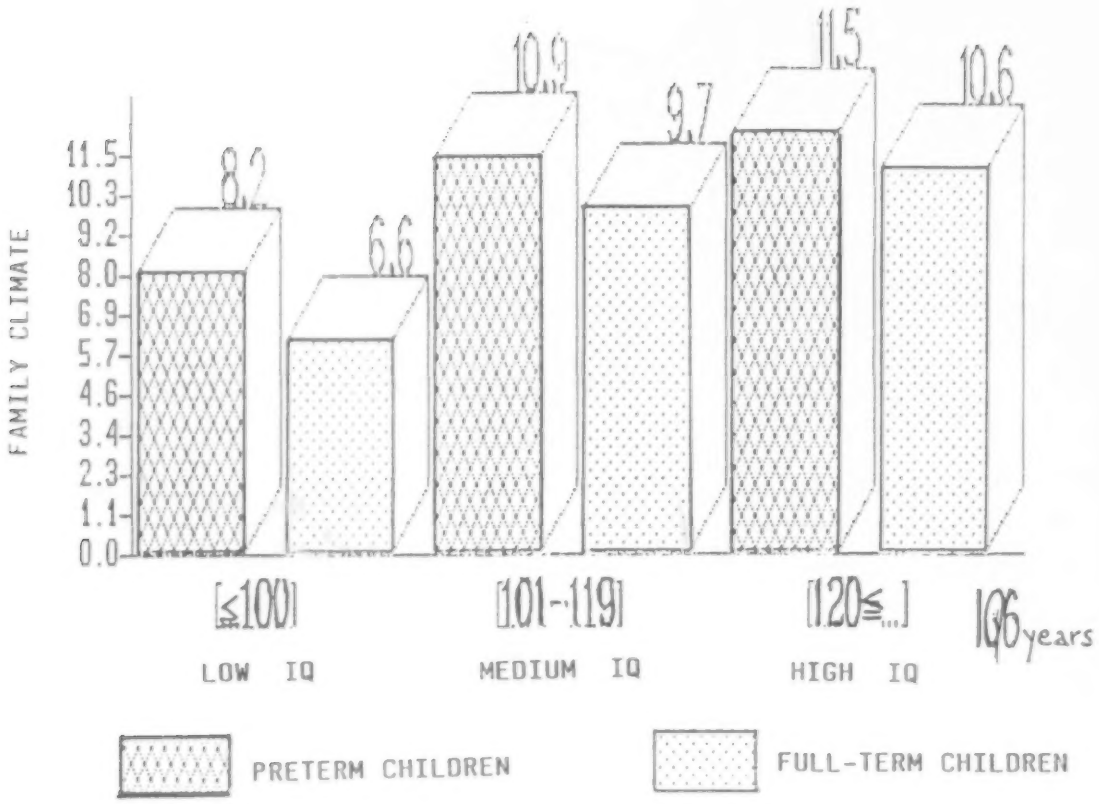

IQ6
131.3
121.2
111.1
101.0
90.9
80.8
70.7
60.6
50.5
40.4
30.3
20.2
10.1
0.0
105.3
107.8
112.1
113.1
115.2
116.7
[≦23]
[24-45]
[46≦...]
LOW SES
MEDIUM SES
HIGH SES
PRETERM CHILDREN
FULL-TERM CHILDREN
SES1 + 2
39.6
36.3
33.0
29.7
26.4
23.1
19.8
16.5
13.2
9.9
6.6
3.3
0.0
23.1
27.0
35.2
33.6
35.9
34.1
[≦100]
[101-119]
[120≦...]
LOW IQ
MEDIUM IQ
HIGH IQ
IQ 6yrs

Figure 6


FAMILY CLIMATE
11.5
10.3
9.2
8.0
6.9
5.7
4.6
3.4
2.3
1.1
0.0
8.2
6.6
10.9
9.7
11.5
10.6
[≤100]
[101-119]
[120≤...]
106 years
LOW IQ
MEDIUM IQ
HIGH IQ
PRETERM CHILDREN
FULL-TERM CHILDREN

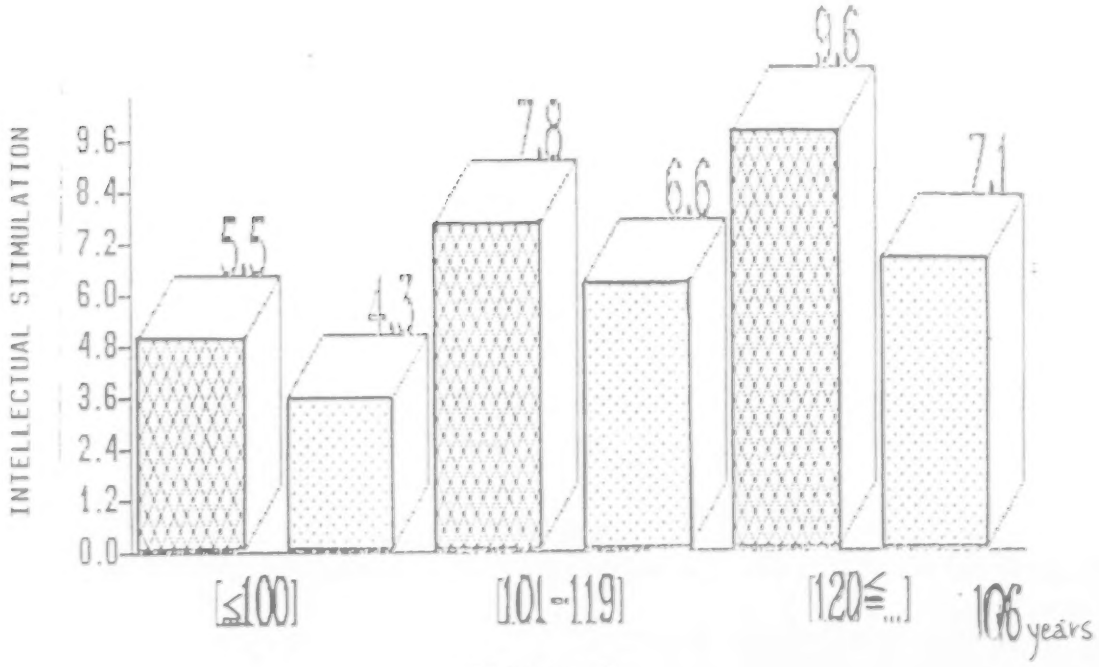

INTELLECTUAL STIMULATION
9.6
8.4
7.2
6.0
4.8
3.6
2.4
1.2
0.0
5.5
4.3
7.8
6.6
9.6
7.1
[≤100]
[101-119]
[120≤...]
106 years

Figure 7

biological variables remained significant (Gestational Age and Birth Weight). Two variables were retained in the equation: Intellectual Stimulation and Gestational Age (Multiple R=0.51). From the age of five the effect of the perinatal biological factors cannot be detected any more, and in the regression equations for five and six years only the Intellectual Stimulation was retained (R=0.47; R=0.48). For the full-term sample the variables retained in the regression equation are the following: at the age of' three "Intellectual Stimulation", at four the same plus "Family Climate", at five "Intellectual Stimulation" again, and at six "Family Climate" alone (R = 0.43, 0.47, 0.42, 0.40, respectively).

The role of' the Intellectual Stimulation can be well demonstrated by cases in which the expected relationship between the SES and another home variable, e.g. the particular maternal attitude does not exist.

For example:

In the preterm sample neither the families with democratic mothers nor those with perfectionist mothers have mean SES scores higher than average yet their children have high IQs; the Intellectual Stimulation scores in both subgroups are very high. Also among the preterm children the subgroup with over-permissive mothers have an average level of SES but the mean IQ of these children is relatively low. The amount of Intellectual Stimulation they are provided with is little. Similarly, the fullterm children with neglecting mothers come from high SES families which do not provide much intellectual stimulation; their mean IQ is below average.

In this respect only the preterm children of overprotective mothers do not seem to fit the general pattern. In this case both the SES and the Intellectual Stimulation scores are high, but up until 5 years the IQs are below average. In the full-term group the same maternal attitude is associated also with less than average intellectual stimulation, and the children's IQs are always below average. Overprotectiveness seems to counteract mental growth, at least in early childhood, as it should be noted that the IQs of these children show a steady upward trend with age.

CONCLUSION

Our data have provided further evidence that perinatal risk conditions, such as preterm birth, may have a differential impact on mental development, depending upon social-environmental factors (Koop & McCall, 1982). Advantaged family circumstances may reduce or even fully compensate for the adverse effects of perinatal risks, while a disadvantaged environment is likely to amplify these. Therefore as our findings, in line with those

reported by Siegel (1982) suggest, the impact of environmental processes w esses may be accentuated in preterm children as compared to their non-risk full-term peers.

The "main-effect models of development (or, as Reese and Overton, 1970, refer to it, a linear-mechanistic approach) are clearly not adequate to explain the complex interplay of factors contributing to the developmental outcome of children born at medical risk; but even a model as dynamic as Lewis' interactional model (Lewis, 1972; Lewis & Fox, 1980) does not seem to be able to account for the diversity of individual variations. Not only the outcome of any environmental effect is a function of the state of the individual-, but the latter plays an active role in its own development as well in that it influences the caregivers' behaviour by its individual characteristics from the very beginning. Therefore, for understanding the developmental mechanisms shaping the outcome in preterm children, Sameroff's transactional model (Sameroff & Chandler, 1975; Sameroff, 1979, 1982) and Belsky's (1984) ecological parenting process model might serve as appropriate theoretical framework.

The specific behavioural patterns of preterm babies that influence caregiver-infant interactions, and, consequently, the parental behavioural patterns toward these infants have been extensively documented and discussed (Als & Brazelton, 1981; Brown & Bakeman, 1980; DiVitto & Goldberg, 1979; Field, 1979; Goldbery, 1979; Klaus & Kennell, 1970; Lelier et al, 1972, Minde et al, 1983, 1986). Very often the specific parental behaviours are motivated by a compensatory effort. There is some indication in our data that a certain specificity of the parent's behaviour toward prematurely born children may persist well into middle childhood. The majority of mothers with preterm children who participate in our project appear to have adjusted their behaviour quite successfully to the particular needs of their "at risk" children. It is very likely that these mothers play a crucial part in the intellectual outcome of the preterm group that is perfectly comparable with that of a sample of non-risk full-term children with similar socioeconomic background.

REFERENCES

Als, H. & Brazelton, T.B. (1981) A new model of assessing behavioral organization in preterm and fullterm infants. Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry, 20, 239-263.

Baldwin, A.L., Kalhorn, J., & Breese, F.H. (1945) Patterns of parent behavior. Psychology Monographs, 58, No.5.

Becker, W.C.(1964) Consequences of different kinds of parental discipline. In M.L. Hoffman & L.W. Hoffman (Eds.), Review of child development research (Vol. 1). New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964.

Belsky, J. (1984) The determinants of parenting: A process model. Child Development,55, 83-96.

Bradley, R. & Caldwell, B. (1976) Early home environment and changes in mental test performance in children from six to thirty-six months. Developmental Psychology, 1976, 12, 93-97.

Bradley, R. & Caldwell, B. (1976) The relationship of infants' home environments to mental test performance at fifty-four months: A follow-up study. Child Development, 47, 1172-1174.

Bradley, R., Caldwell, B. M., Rock, S. L., Cases, P. M., & Nelson, S. (1987)The early development of low-birthweight infants: relationship to health, family status, family context, family processes, and parenting. International Journal of Behavioral Development,10, 301-318.

Bronfenbrenner, U. & Crouter, A.C. (1983) The evolution of environmental models in developmental research. In P.H. Mussen (Ed.), Handbook of Child Psychology, Vol. I, New York: J. Wiley,.

Brown, J.W. & Bakeman, R. (1980) Relationship of human mothers with their infants during the first year of life: Effect of prematurity. In R.W. Bell & W.P. Smotherman (Eds.), Maternal influence and early behavior. Jamaica, N.Y.: Spectrum.

Caldwell, B. & Bradley, R. (1984) Home observation for Measurement of Environment. Little Rock: Univ. of Arkansas Press.

Caldwell, B. & Bradley, R.(1985) HOME inventory for families of elementary children. University of Arkansas at Little Rock.

Caputo, O.V., Goldstein, K.M., & Taub, H.B.(1981) Neonatal compromise and late psychological development: A lO-year longitudinal study. In S.L. Friedman & M. Siyman (Eds.), Preterm birth and psychological development. New York: Academic Press, 1981.

Dave, R. (1963) The identification and measurement of environmental process variables that are related to educational achievement. Unpubl. doctoral dissertation,University of Chicago. (Cit. by Elardo & Bradley, 1981)

Deutsch, C.P. (1973) Social class and child development. In B.M. Caldwell & H. Riccuti (Eds.), Review of child development research (Vol. 3). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

DiVitto, B. & Goldberg, S. (1979) The effects of newborn medical status on early parent-infant interaction. In T.M. Field (Ed.) Iniants born at risk. Jamaica, N.Y.: Spectrum.

Drillien, C.M. (1964) The growth and development oi the prematurely born infant. Edinburgh: Livingstone.

Drillien, C.M., Thomson, A.S.M., & Burgoyne, K. (1980) Low-birthweisht children at early school age: A longitudinal study. Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology, 22, 26-47.

Elardo, R. & Bradley, R.H. (1981) The Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment (HOME) Scale: A review of research. Developmental Review, 1, 113-145.

Elardo, R., Bradley, R.H., & Caldwell, B.M. (1975) The relation of infants' home environments to mental test perfonmance irom six to thirty six months: A longitudinal analysis. Child Oevelopment, 46, 71-76.

Elardo, R., Bradley, R.H., & Caldwell, B.M. (1977) A longitudinal study of the relation of infants' home environments to language development at age three. Child development, 48, 595-603.

Field, T.M. (1979) Interaction patterns of preterm and term infants. In T.M. Field (Ed.) Infants born at risk. Jamaica, N.Y.: Spectrum.

Goldberg, S. (1979) Premature birth: Consequences for the parent-infant relationship. American Scientist, 67, 214-222.

Hanson, R.A. (1975) Consistency and stability of home environmental measures related to IQ. Child Development, 46, 470-480.

Henderson, R.W., Bergan, J.R., & Hurt, M. (1972) Developmental validation of the Henderson Environmental Learning Process Scale. Journal of Social Psychology, 88, 185-196.

Hunt, J.V. (1981) Predicting intellectual disorders in childhood for preterm infants with birthweights below 1501 gm. In S.L. Friedman & M. Sigman (Eds.), Preterm birth and psychological development. New York: Academic Press.

Kalmar, M. (1988) Biological and environmental determinants of mental development in "at-risk" children. In A. Fusco, F.M. Battisti, & R. Tomassoni (Eds.), Issues in cognition and social representation. Milano: Franco Angeli Libri.

Klaus, M.H. & Kennell, J. (1970) Mothers separated from their newborn infants. Peadiatric Clinics of North America, 17, 1015-1037.

Kopp, C.B. & McCall, R. (1982) Predicting later mental performance for normal, at-risk, and handicapped infants. Life Span Development and Behavior,4, 33-61.

Lamb, M.E. & Baumrind, D. (1978) Socialization and personality development in the preschool years. In M.E.Lamb (Ed.), Social and personality development.New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Leifer, A.D., Leiderman, P.H., Barnett, C.R., & Williams, J.A. (1972) Effects of mother -infant separation on maternal attachment behavior. Child Development, 43, 1203-1218.

Lewis, M. (1972) State as an infant-environment interaction: An analysis of mother-infant interaction as a function of sex. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 18, 95-121.

Lewis, M. & Fox, N. (1980) Assessment and detection of handicap in early life: current theory and research. In B.Camp (Ed.), Advances in Behavioral Pediatrics, Vol. 1. Greenwich, Connecticut, JAI Press.

Littmann, B. & Parmelee, A.H. (1978) Medical correlates of infant development. Pediatrics, 61, 470-474.

Minde, K., Corter, C., & Goldberg, S. (1986) The contribution of twinship and health to early interaction and attachment between premature infants and their mothers. In Frontiers of Infant Psychiatry,Yol.2.New York: Basic Books.

Minde, K., Whitelaw, A., Brown, J., & Fitzhardinge, P. (1983) The effect of neonatal complications in premature infants on early parent-infant interactions. Developmental Medicine and Child Neurology, 25, 763-777.

Moos, R. (1974) Family environment scale. Palo Alto, Cal.: Consulting Psychologists Press.

Pederson, D.R., Evans, B., Chance, G.V., Bento, S., & Fox, A.M. (1986) Stress resistant low birthweight infants. Paper presented at the International Association for Infant Mental Health Conference, Chicago.

Ramey, C.T., Farran, D.C., & Campbell, F.A. (1979) Predicting IQ from mother-infant interactions. Child Development, 50, 804-8l4.

Reese, H.W. & Overton, W.F. (1970) Models of development and theories of development. In L.R. Goulet & P.B. Baltes (Eds.), Life span developmental psychology. New York: Academic Press.

Sameroff, A.J. (1979) Etiology of cognitive competence: A systems perspective. In R.B. Kearsley & I. E. Sigel (Eds.), Infants at risk: Assessment of cognitive functioning. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

Sameroff, A.(1982) The environmental context of developmental disabilities. In D. Bricker (Ed.), Intervention with at risk and handicapped infants. Baltimore: Univ. Park Press.

Sameroff, A.J. & Chandler, M. J. (1975) Reproductive risk and the continuum of care taking casualty. In F.D. Horowitz, M. Hetherington, S. Scarr-Salapatek, & G. Siegal (Eds.), Review of Child Development Research,Vol.4. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Schaefer, E.S. (1959) A circumplex model of maternal behavior. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59, 226-235.

Schaefer, E.S. & Bell, R.Q. (1958) Development of a parental research instrument. Child Development, 29, 339-361.

Sears, R.R., Maccoby, E.E., & Levin,H. (1957) Patterns of child rearing. Evanston, Ill. Row, Peterson.

Siegel, L.S. (1982) Reproductive, perinatal, and environmental factors as predictors of the cognitive and language development of preterm and full-term infants. Child Development, 55, 963-975.

Sigel, I. E. (1982) The relationship between parental distancing strategies and the child's cognitive behavior. In L.M. Laosa & I.E. Sigel (Eds.), Families as learning environments for children. New York: Plenum.

Sigel, I. E., Dreyer, A. S., & McGillicuddy-DeLisi, A.V. (1984) Psychological perspectives of the family. In R.O. Parke (Ed.), Review of Child Development Research, Vol. 7. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Sigman, M., & Parmelee, A.H. (1989) Longitudinal evaluation of the preterm infant. In T. Field, A.M. Sostek, S. Goldberg, & H.H. Schuman (Eds.), Infants born at risk. Jamaica, N.Y.: Spectrum.

Sigman, M., Cohen, S.E., Beckwith, L., & Parmelee, A.H. (1981) Social and familial influences on the development of preterm infants. Journal of Pediatric Psycholgy, 6, 1-13.

Sigman, M., Cohen, S.E., & Forsythe, A. (1981) The relation of early infant measures to later development. In S.L. Friedman & M. Sigman (Eds.), Preterm birth and psychological development. New York: Academic Press.

Smith, L., Smorvik, D., Sommer. F.F., & von Tetzchner, S. (1982) A longitudinal study of low birthweight children: Reproductive, perinatal, and environmental precursors of developmental status at three years of age. Seminars in Perinatology, 1982, 6, 294-304.

Wallace, I.F. & McCarton, C.M. (1985) Cognitive outcome in VLBW, LBW and fullterm children. Paper presented at the SRCD Meeting, Toronto.

Werner, E.E., Bierman, J.M., & French, F.E. (1971) The children oi Kauai: A longitudinal study from the prenatal period to age ten. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Werner, E.E. & Smith, R.S. (1977) Kauai's children come of age. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.

Werner, E.E. & Smith, R.S. (1982) Vulnerable but invincible: A longitudinal study of resilient children and youth. New York: McGraw Hill.

White, B.L. & Carew, J.C. (1973) Experiences and environment: Major influences on the development of the young child. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Wolf, R. (1963) The identification and measurement of environmental process variables related to intelligence. Unpubl. doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago. (Cit. by Elardo & Bradley, l98l)

Yarrow, L.J., Rubenstein, J.C., Pedersen, F.A., & Jankowski, J.J. (1973) Dimensions of early stimulation and their differential effects on infant development. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 19, 205-219.

Pertti Pohjolainen
Kuntokallio, Center for gerontological training
and research

A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND LIFE-STYLE

INTRODUCTION

One of the most controversial issues in social gerontology is the question as to whether social participation declines with increasing age. This is also a central concern of many so called social gerontological theories (e.g. activity theory, disengagement theory, continuity theory). This study is based on the view that social participation is part of the totality of life-style.

There are at least two different approaches to defining the concept of life-style. One approach defines life-style as typologies of different activities and models of behaviour. These definitions can be divided into three groups. First, those that are based on the structure; second, those that are based on the content of the concept; and third, those in which the meaning of life-style has a central position (Taylor and Ford 1981).

The alternative approach understands life-style as an entity consisting of individual's models of behaviour and his or her choices as a member of society. Berbalk and Hahn (1980) define life-style as "thematically structured patterns of experience and behaviour in different areas of life for the satisfying of needs, for the fulfilment of aims and for the approaching of aims". Life-style in one area of life is always to be found in a particular context of life-style in another area of life. This means that it is important to discuss both the determinants and the indicators of life-style. These can be divided into three groups: those related to the individual, those related to the immediate surroundings, and those related to general social and cultural structures (Tokarski 1985).

In this study life-style is defined as a theoretical category consisting of the models of behaviour and the choices of an individual as a member of society. The different areas of life-style may include, for example, living habits, social participation, special interests and life satisfaction (Figure 1). Life-style consists of two main components, i.e. the objective and the subjective. In the elderly there are a number of different factors that determine life-style: socioeconomic status, health, aging processes, earlier life history, genetic factors, etc.

The purpose of this study is to describe changes occurring in one area of life-style, i.e. in social participation, during retirement. More specifically,

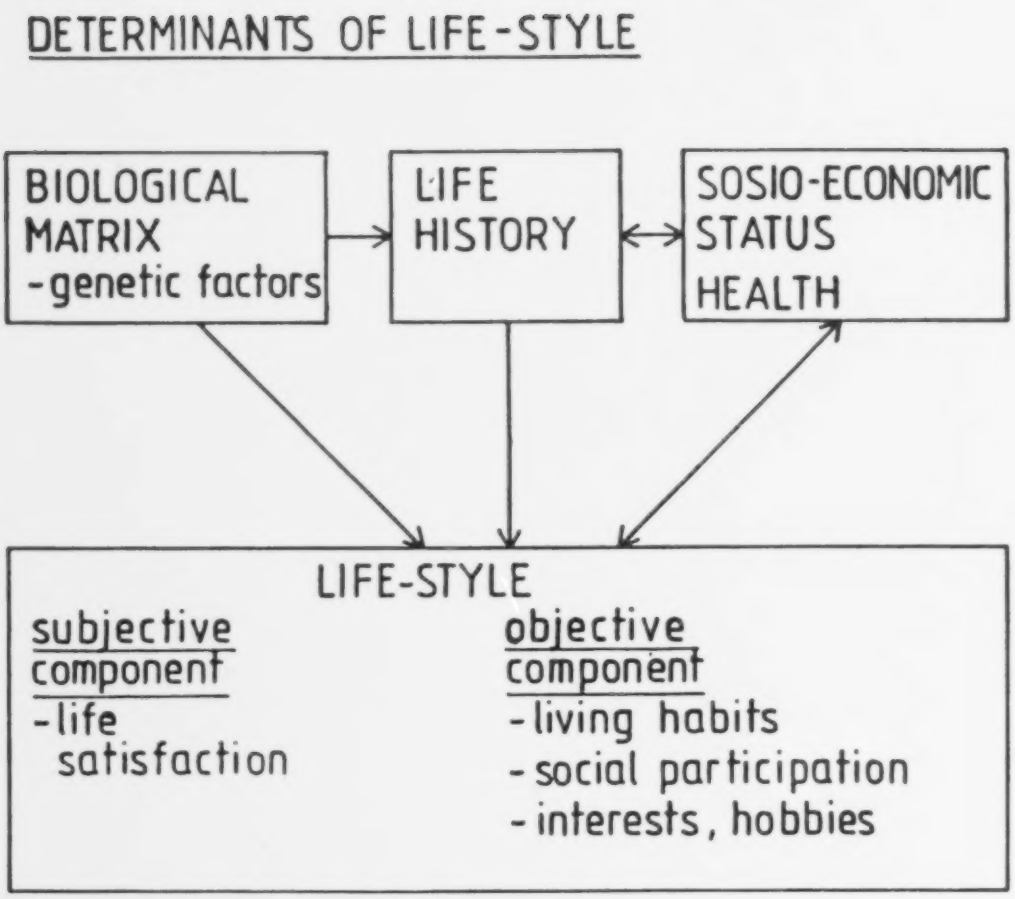


Figure 1: Model of life-style and its determinants in the elderly

we are concerned to examine the relationships of social participation to socio-economic status and health.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The subjects of the study were residents of the city of Jyväskylä, a middle-sized town in central Finland. The population consisted of four cohorts, born in 1905-06, 1909-10, 1917-18 and 1921-22 (Figure 2). In the longitudinal study the oldest cohort (18 men and 52 women) were interviewed in their own homes five times at the age of 66, 70, 74, 78 and 82 years. The second cohort (22 men and 32 women) participated in the interviews three times and the third cohort (53 men and 63 women) twice. In the cohort study the subjects were interviewed at the age of 66 years. The comparable samples in this study were 135 men and 254 women; in the first cohort (born in 1905-06), 77 men and 81 women; in the second cohort, 80 men and 87 women; in the third cohort, and 69 men and 65 women; in the fourth cohort. The main statistical methods used were Chi square analysis and Spearman correlations.

RESULTS

Social participation was defined as consisting of three areas: interests, formal participation and informal participation.

Interests were described by an index consisting of 12 variables e.g. reading: studying; active arts interests (e.g. playing a music instrument, painting); passive arts interests (e.g. movies, theatre); religious interests; travelling; going to restaurants and dancing; outdoor activities; and, bingo. The values of the indices ranged from 0-12.

The longitudinal study showed that interests declined after the age of 78 among men and women in the oldest cohort (Table 1). In all other cohorts, also, there was a tendency for interests to decline with increasing age. The cohort study revealed clear differences in interests activity among both men and women: the younger cohorts (born 1917-18 and 1921-22) were more active than the older cohorts (born 1905-06 and 1909-10) at the same ages.

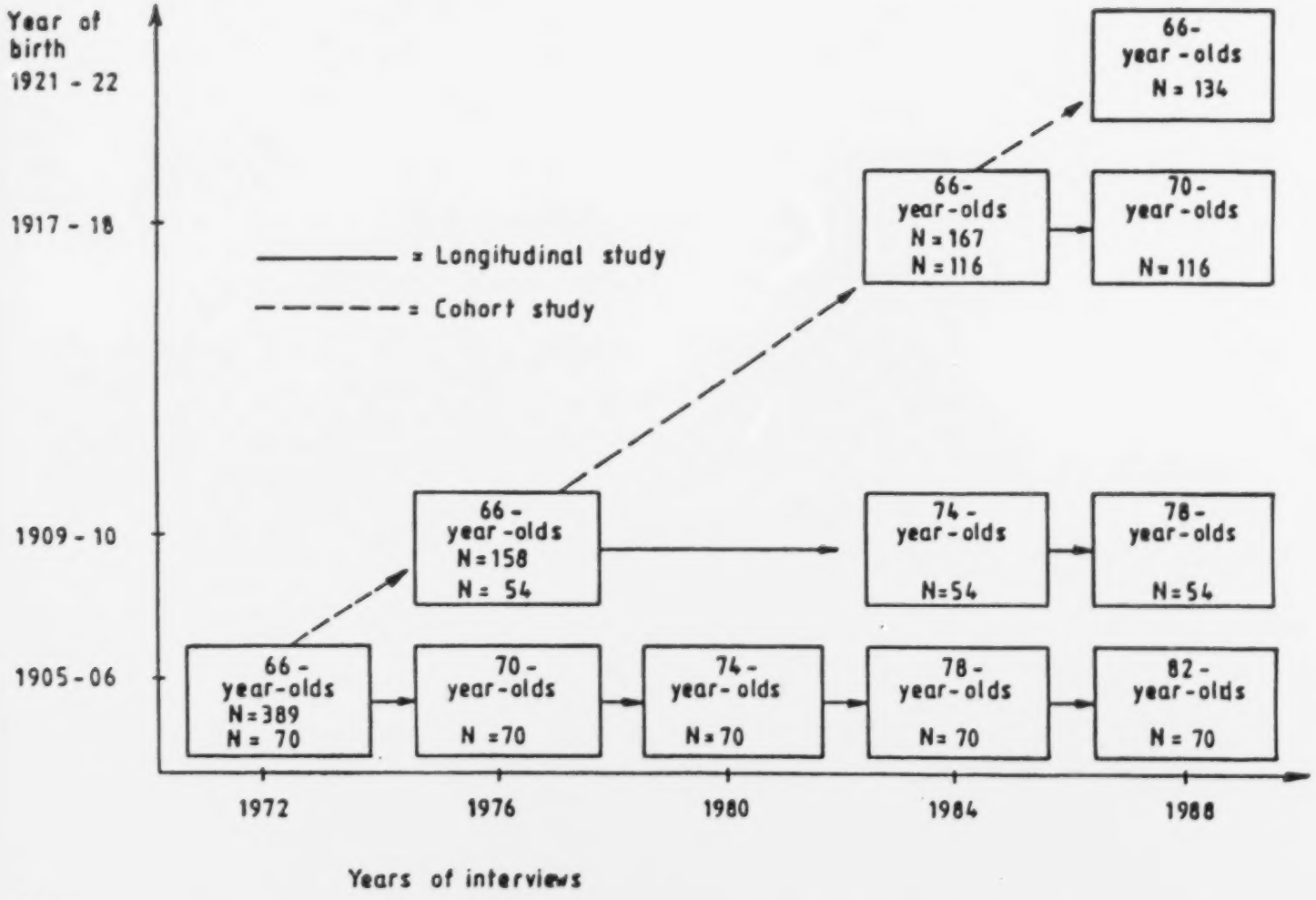

Year of birth
1921 - 22
1917 - 18
1909 - 10
1905 - 06
= Longitudinal study
= Cohort study
66 - year - olds N = 134
66 - year - olds N = 167 N = 116
70 - year - olds N = 116
66 - year - olds N = 158 N = 54
74 - year - olds N = 54
78 - year - olds N = 54
66 - year - olds N = 389 N = 70
70 - year - olds N = 70
74 - year - olds N = 70
78 - year - olds N = 70
82 - year - olds N = 70
1972
1976
1980
1984
1988
Years of interviews

Figure 2: Design of the study. The figures on the first line indicate the size of the total cohort; below them is indicated the number of subjects who were followed throughout the follow-up period

Table 1: Means of interests index at different ages among men and women in the oldest cohort (born in 1905-06)

	at the age of				
	66	70	74	78	82
Men (n=18)	6.5	6.4	6.8	6.3	5.2
Women (n=52)	6.1	5.9	6.0	6.4	4.6

Formal social participation was described by membership of various organizations and participation in their work. Membership remained more or less unchanged during the follow-up period for both genders. Participation in the work of organizations declined with age in the oldest cohort (Table 2); the trend in other cohorts was very similar. There were no cohort differences among men, but among women organizational activity was higher in the younger cohorts (born 1917-18 and 1921-22) at the same age (Figure 3).

Table 2: Number of subjects (%) participating in activity of organizations at different ages among men and women in the oldest cohort (born in 1905-06)

	at the age of				
	66	70	74	78	82
Men (n=18)	50	44	35	39	28
Women (n=52)	33	37	29	31	17

Informal social contacts (meeting friends at least a few times a week) decreased during the first years of retirement among men and women in all cohorts. Another variable describing informal social participation was "visiting friends and relatives"; here the decline occurred at a later stage, i.e. after the age of 78. The cohort study pointed to clear differences between the cohorts in informal participation (Figure 4). However, the differences were not consistent. Most of the informal social contacts were found in the cohort of 1917-18.

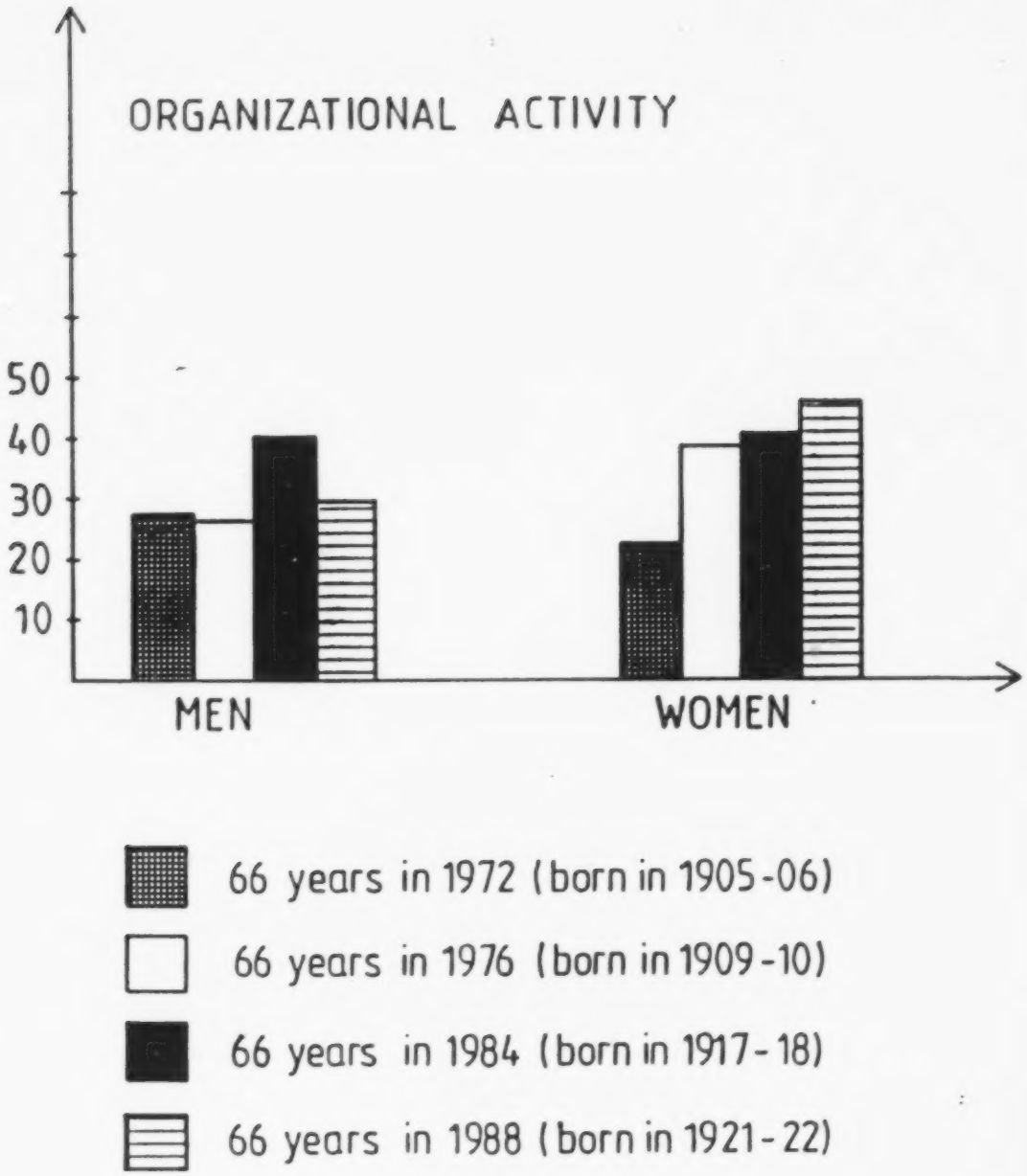


Figure 3: Subjects participating in the work of organizations in different cohorts (%)

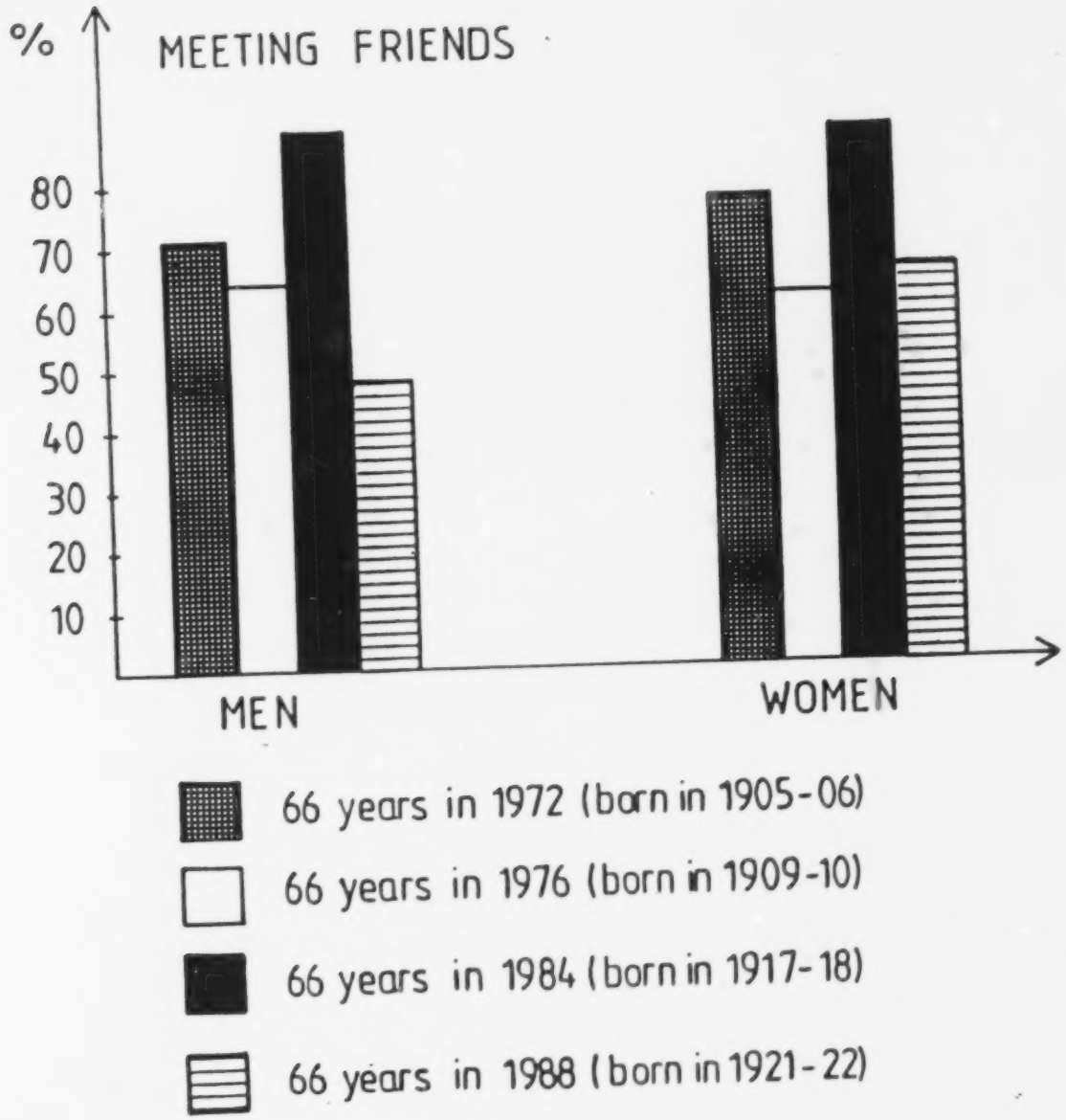


Figure 4: Subjects meeting friends at least a few times a week in different cohorts (%)

Socio-economic status was defined on the basis of education and income. In the longitudinal study education correlated positively with the interests index at almost all ages among both men and women (Table 3). In other words, these connections remained virtually unchanged during the follow-up period. Among men there was a more permanent correlation between education and formal social participation (organizational activity) than among women. The variables of informal social participation did not correlate with the variables of socio-economic status.

Table 3: Significant correlations between interests index and education at different ages in the oldest cohort among men and women

at the age of	Men (n=18)	Women (n=52)
	r	r
66	.61	.33
70	.49	.27
74		.31
78	.48	.41
82	.53	

In the cohort study, interests activity correlated positively with the variables of socio-economic status, especially education (Table 4). However, these correlations were lower in the younger cohorts (born in 1917-18 and 1921-22) than in the older cohorts (1905-06 and 1909-10). This means that in the younger cohorts the significance of education as a determinant of interests activity is not anymore as important as in the older cohorts.

Table 4: Significant correlations between interests index and education in different cohorts among men and women

	r
MEN	
66 years in 1972 (n=135)	.43
66 years in 1976 (n= 76)	.41
66 years in 1984 (n =79)	.29
66 years in 1988 (n= 66)	.28
WOMEN	
66 years in 1972 (n=254)	.30
66 years in 1976 (n= 80)	.37
66 years in 1984 (n= 86)	.22
66 years in 1988 (n= 64)	

The variables describing health status (number of chronic diseases , number of symptoms, coping with daily activities = ADL-index) correlated very rarely with the variables of social participation. In later years of retirement the social participation of women was restricted above all by their deteriorating functional ability.

DISCUSSION

The results of this longitudinal study suggest that there is a tendency for social participation to decline quite significantly after the age of 75. However, the connections of social participation to socio-economic status and particularly to education remained unchanged. The results of the cohort study show that the younger cohorts are more active than the older cohorts, and that the connections of social participation to socio-economic status are weaker in the younger cohorts.

In old age life-style tends to be limited by many factors (McGuire 1984). The present study indicated that education is one of the most important determinants of life-style in the elderly. The significance of education is

particularly emphasized as a determinant of various (interests, activities, social participation) life-styles. Also, the findings support the results of earlier studies in pointing to the need for a distinction between different forms of social participation (Morgan 1988).

The kind of longitudinal design that was used in this study tends to be highly selective (through death, illnesses, non-response, etc.). Therefore, as in this case, the samples investigated can often be regarded as "elite" groups which provide valuable information on so-called successful aging.

In this report we have analyzed some of the changes that occur with aging at the group level. At the individual level the analysis of these changes is far more complicated process in that they may occur in different directions. Any conclusions based on the percentages given should be made with extreme caution because in the older cohorts in particular the number of subjects was comparatively small.

It is obvious that survey-type interviews can give only a rather superficial picture of life-style or of its different areas. However, the method does give a reasonably clear general picture of the changes that occur with aging. In order to produce more detailed information it will be necessary to rely on other supplementary methods.

Notes. Paper originally presented at the XIVth International Congress of Gerontology, Acapulco, Mexico, 18-23 June 1989.

REFERENCES

Berbalk, H. & Hahn, K.D. (1980): Lebensstil, psychisch-somatische Anpassung und klinisch-psychologische Intervention. In U.Baumann et al. (Eds.), Klinische Psychologie - Trends in Forschung und Praxis, Band 3. Stuttgart.

McGuire, F.A. (1984): A factor analytic study of leisure constraints in advanced adulthood. Leisure Sciences, 6, 313-326.

Morgan, D.L. (1988): Age differences in social network participation. Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences 43,129-137.

Taylor, R. & Ford, G. (1981): Lifestyle and aging. Three traditions in lifestyle research. Aging and Society, 1, 329-345.

Tokarski, W.(1985): Freizeitstile im Alter: Über die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeiten einer Analyse der Freizeit Alterer. Zeitschrift für Gerontologie, 18, 72-75.

Marta I. György
Institute for Psychology of the
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEMPERAMENT AND HOME ENVIRONMENT INDICES AND THE SOCIOMETRIC STATUS OF PRESCHOOL CHILDREN

In recent years the attention of researchers has again turned towards the study of temperament. Hippocrates's and Galen´s over 2000-year old typology, which formed an organic part of ancient natural philosophy, described four types of personality, each related to the dominance of one of the four body fluids and four primal elements. The ancient terms sanguine, choleric, melancholy, and phlegmatic are still in use, though research has taken an entirely different approach to the problem of temperament.

Thomas and Chess's theory (1970) is one of the best known and the most complete among them, which defines temperament as a behavioral style. The theory is based on the data of their New York Longitudinal Study (1968) of 136 middle class families from the time of the children's birth. The investigation analyzed the way in which certain normal behavioral style traits interact with features of the environment and produce behavioral problems. They noted that the majority of these behavioral disorders developed between the ages of 2 and 10 years. Congenital temperament characteristics considered as hazardous, practically predispose the child to face difficulties in adjustment to the environment. Concurrent stress, as well as conflicts with parents and caretakers only add to this. Thomas and Chess have distinguished and defined nine temperament characteristics (Table I).

Table 1. Temperament characteristics

---

1. Activity: The amount of physical motion during sleep, eating, play, dressing, bathing, etc.

2. Rhythmicity: The regularity or physiologic functions such as hunger, sleep, and elimination.

3. Approach/Withdrawal: The nature of initial responses to new stimuli-people, situations, places, foods, toys, and procedures.

4. AdaptabilitY: The ease or difficulty with which reactions to stimuli can be modified in a desired way.
5. Intensity: The energy level of responses regardless of quality or direction.

6. Mood: Amount of pleasant and friendly or unpleasant and unfriendly behaviour in various situations.

7. Persistence/Attention Span: The length of time particular activities are pursued by the child with or without obstacles.

8. Distractibility: The effectiveness of extraneous environmental stimuli in interfering with ongoing behaviours.

9. Sensory threshold: The amount of stimulation, such as sounds or light, necessary to evoke discernible responses in the child.

With the help of these they have defined three basic types of personality on the basis of differences in temperament as Table 2 shows.

Table 2: Traits of temperament in three major clusters

The ease child:

- high rhythmicity
—positive mood
—high approach
- high adaptability
- low intensity

The difficult child:

- low-rhythmicity - arrhythmicity
- negative mood
- low approach — high withdrawal
—low adaptability
—high intensity

The slow-to-warm—up child:

—low activity
—low approach - high withdrawal
—low adaptability
—negative mood
- low intensity

The child having "easy—to-manage" temperament characteristics is usually given a warm reception in the environment, is accepted and loved. A "hard—to—manage" type child, on the other hand, often meets difficulties in the course of adjustment, and is usually disfavorably received.

The most important feature of "slow—to-warm-up" type children is a strong withdrawal in unusual situations; they are slow at accepting newly met habits and at responding new stimuli, and experience excessive stress if forced to adapt fastly.

Accordingly, the concurrent manifestation of characteristic temperament traits makes the outcome of the child's socialization predictable. The results of the New York Longitudinal Study served as the basis for Thomas and Chess's theory of compatibility with the environment (goodness of fit), which is favourable if the properties, expectations, and demands of the environment are in accord with the organism´s own abilities, motivations, and behavioral style. Incompatibility with the environment (poor fit), on the other hand, means a dissonance, or difference, between the opportunities and demands of the environment and the organism's capacity and characteristics, which, sooner or later, will cause some developmental disorder and maladaptive functions.

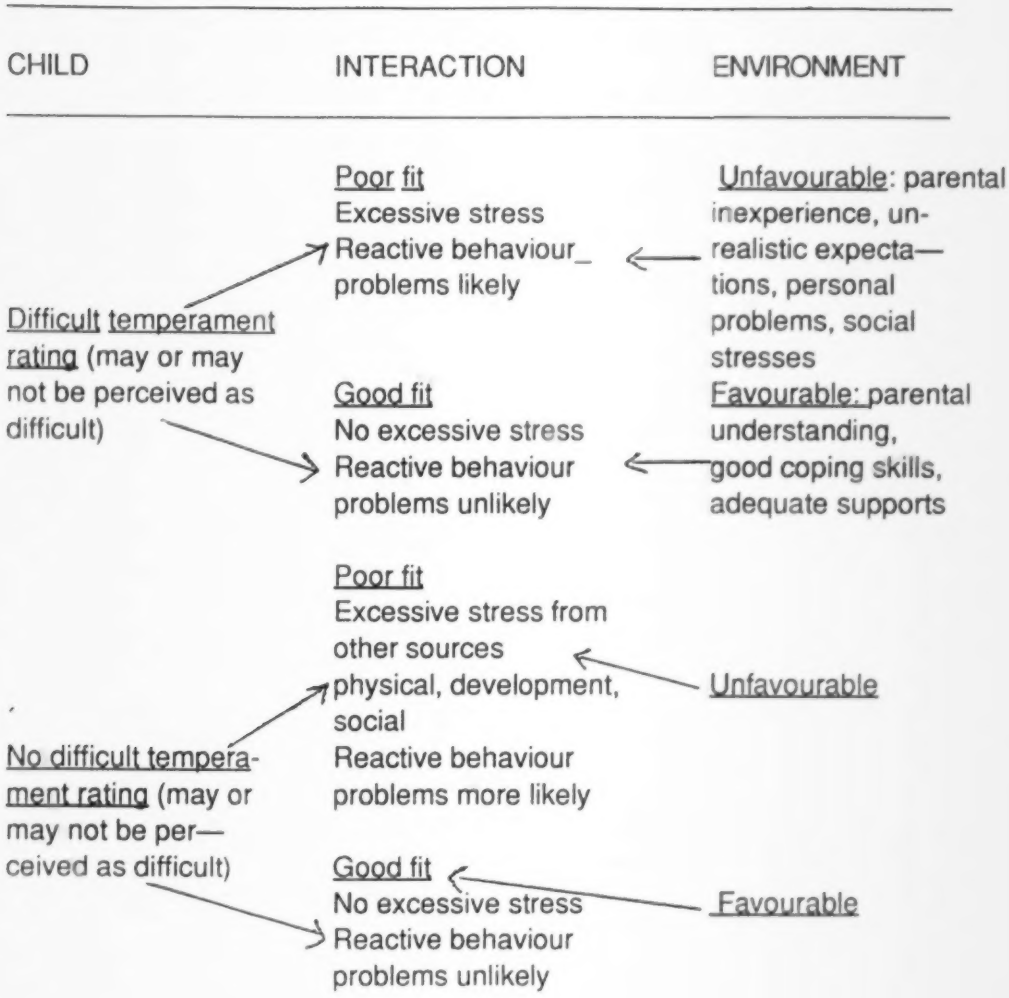
They believe that the caretaker's impatience is the reason why a difficult child comes to be regarded as a problematic one, because it causes stress, whereby the child will feel inadequate to comply with the socializational expectations of the family or the school. It may also cause secondary clinical problems related to the physical health, development, and behaviour of the child. However, it is not mandatory for these congenital and so called hazardous temperament characteristics to cause problems in interactions with the environment. Its outcome is greatly determined by the caretaker's understanding support. If the parent can remain consistent in handling the child and takes into consideration the child's own reactive patterns, than even a difficult child will be capable of a slow, step-by-step adjustment. Figure1 gives a fine illustration.

The Figure illustrates that a child with difficult temperament undergoes excessive stress on the interaction with an unfavourable family environment, which maintains unrealistic expectations towards him, and gives rise to a variety of problems in his reactive behaviour pattern.

On the other hand, the same child can avoid stress and behavioural difficulties if brought up in a supporting and understanding family environment.

The same is true with "easy" temperament: an unfavourable adjustment can easily be built -up in a non-supporting environment. For example, an overstressed parent may regard a normally active child as "hyperactive" as he cannot tolerate the child´s activity and will handle the child inappropriately.

Figure 1: Interactions of difficult temperament


CHILD
INTERACTION
ENVIRONMENT
Poor fit
Excessive stress
Reactive behaviour problems likely
Unfavourable: parental inexperience, unrealistic expectations, personal problems, social stresses
Difficult temperament rating (may or may not be perceived as difficult)
Good fit
No excessive stress
Reactive behaviour problems unlikely
Favourable: parental understanding, good coping skills, adequate supports
Poor fit
Excessive stress from other sources physical, development, social
Reactive behaviour problems more likely
Unfavourable
No difficult temperament rating (may or may not be perceived as difficult)
Good fit
No excessive stress
Reactive behaviour problems unlikely
Favourable

The goal of our longitudinal study is to analyze, in the light of the home environment and socio-cognitive maturity, the relationship between the temperament characteristics of preschool children and the extent of adjustment to the community, of social adaptation from the first day of kindergarten until starting school. The investigation is currently going on, ao we will review the processed data of only the first 18 months.

METHODS

The investigation is being conducted in a Budapest kindergarten. The family

environment indices of 16 children (9 boys and 7 girls) were studied with the help of tthe HOME Inventory (Caldwell & Bradley 1979). Differences in individual temperament were determined with the Behaviour Style Questionnaire designed for preschool children by McDevitt & Carey (l975) on the basis of Thomas and Chess's theory.
The level of speech comprehension was determined with De Renzi´´s TOKEN test adapted for preschool cnildren. J. Kadar-Sugar has reported favorably on the results of its Hungarian adaptation (1986).
Sociometric tests and caretaker´s report were our sources of data for the evaluation of social adjustment.

RESULTS

Analysis of the HOME Inventory data shows no significant differences in the home environment of boys and girls, which is in accord with earlier studies (Caldwell &Bradley,1979; György,1984). Analysis of temperament characteristics shows no outstanding individual differences in our sample. There is, however, a significant difference according to sex in the results of scale 7 in favor of girls, according to which, persistence is more characteristic of girls than boys. There was no significant difference between boys and girls in speech comprehension. The average TOKEN score of our group is somewhat higher (28.96) than that given J. Sagi-Osman (25.94) for the same age group in a similar kindergarten (1983). Analysis of the sociometric test measuring-social effectiveness by comparing the number of votes received and the number of reciprocal relations shows in both instances a significant difference in favor of boys. Social adjustment was evaluated on the basis of the caretaker's report to our questions concerning the difficulties in adjustment, the circumstances of separation from the parent, the content of time spent at the kindergarten, and the choice of friends. The responses show that social adjustment poses less of a problem for girls than boys, for whom it takes longer and who cry more when separated from the parent.

Correlations

In the following correlations between certain indices are analyzed. The significant correlations are shown in Table 3. We´re indebted to I. Horvath for his help in the mathematical statistical analysis of the data.

Agreements between the HOME Inventory and the adjustment indices well illustrate the positive influence of a secure home background, especially of verbal motivation, on adjustment. The subscalcs 3, 5, 6, and 7 of the HOME Inventory, which measure the security of the home, the range of motivations, the modelling and encouragement of social maturity, show

TABLE 3. The significant relationships between indices studied

	SOCIOMETRIC STUDIES						ADJUSTMENT INDICES				TOKEN
	1. Votes received	2. Votes reciprocal	3. Index of reciprocity	4. Index of popularity	5. Votes from boys	6. Votes from girls	1. Easy/ Difficult	2. Crying	3. Sleeping	4. Choice of friends	
HOME											
1. Plays, toys tools											
2. Verbal stimulation							.6339**	.6339**			.5446**
3. Physical environment	.4861*	.4916*			.6334**				.4479*	.4479*	
4. Pride, emotion warmth										.6286**	
5. Stimulation of abstract activity									.6800**		
6. Modelling of social maturity									.6407**	.4523*	
7. Variety of stimulation	.4531*			.4531*					.6793**		.5831**
8. Physical punishment											
SEX DIFFERENCE							-.4643*	.4643*			
TEMPERAMENT											
1. Activity						-.4982*					
2. Rhythmicity	-.7208**	-.6946**	-.6528**	-.7208**	-.7167**						
3. Approach/ Withdrawal										.4998*	
4. Adaptability											
5. Intensity											.4761*
6. Mood											
7. Persistence/ Attention Span									.7544**	.4288*	
8. Distractibility											.4825*
9. Sensory threshold							.4328*	-.4328*			

Note: * = $|p| \leq 0.05$
** = $|p| \leq 0.01$

very close relationship with one factor of the content of time spent at the kindergarten, namely, sleeping which indicates that the wide range of motivations at home and the early development of social norms and habits, both contribute to the child´s feeling of well-being in the kindergarten. The close relationship of the 2nd and 7th subacales of the HOME Inventory with achievement in speech comprehension shows that a wider range of motivations, especially high verbal motivation, exerts a positive influence on speech development, particularly on the development of communicative competence. Furthermore, high HOME scores indicate a positive relationship with the position occupied in the community, as well as with the choice of friends.

Sociometric position, however, may be weakened by a temperament characteristic, specifically by low rhythmicity, or arrythmicity, which indicates that the child whose behaviour is governed mostly by irregular biological functions such as irregular eating or sleeping habits, or problems of elimination, probably will be less popular and will also have difficulties in adjustment. It is remarkable that this same effect is seen to occur in the case of boys who show high arrythmicity and in the case of girls who show high activity. A further noteworthy fact is that the child who scores high in approach and in persistence is more often chosen for a friend than the others.

The relationship of the 5th and 8th factors of temperament with the ratings of TOKEN test may refer to a positive influence on speech development exerted by an appropriate intensity and by a low distractibility.

The ninth temperament characteristic, which determines sensory threshold, shows significant correlations, with opposing indications, with the two indices of adjustment. Specifically, in the case of one, the high threshold score, i.e. , the lesser sensitivity of the child, points to an easier adjustment. In the case of the other index, however, low threshold, i.e.,I a very sensitive reaction to environmental stimuli, tends to make separation from the parent difficult, to increase crying and thereby to encumber adjustment. In this context it is interesting to note that, although the difference according to sex does not reach significance, yet it indicates that the lower threshold characterizing boys may have a part in their greater separational anxiety.

In conclusion we may say that the home environment and the individual temperament characteristics are related to the indices of adjustment to the community. It can be seen that control of biological functions plays an important role in adjustment in the kindergarten, especially, as regards the position occupied in the group. It also deserves attention that adaptation to kindergarten norms poses less of a problem for girls, while adaptation to a peer group is easier for boys.

REFERENCES

Caldwell, B. & Bradley, R. (1979) Home observation for measurement of the environment. The HOME manual is available from the Center for Child Development and Education, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, Arkansas.

Carey, W. B. (1986) The difficult child. Pediatrics in Review, Vol. 8 (2), 39-46.

Carey, W. B. (1988) A suggested solution to the confusion in attention deficit diagnoses. Clinical commentary. Clinical pediatrics, Vol. 27 (7), 348-349.

György, I. M. (1984) First experiences of the domestic application of HOME -inventory. A method for measuring the effects of the family environment. Pszichologia, Vol. 4 (4), 577-595.

Osmanne, S. J. (1983) Trying the TOKEN speech understanding test of De Renzi on preschool children. Budapest: Institute for psychology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Sugar-Kadar, J. (1986) Pathways of the development of language - developing talking skills in day care. Budapest: Tankönyvkiado.

Sirkka Karjalainen
Department of Education
University of Lapland

ADOLESCENT'S VIEW ABOUT FAMILY AND FAMILY EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with family education which will be a compulsory subject since autumn term 1989 in Finnish lower secondary school grade nine. Family education has already been a subject in some counties in this academic year. On some lines of vocational schools family education has been a compulsory subject many years. The aim of the study to be reported is to investigate the content preferences of family education expressed by students and to evaluate the importance of family education as a subject. In the second phase of the study the effectiveness of experimental family education program is also in investigated with respect to change in attitudes, knowledge and ways i which family problems (parenting, marital problems) are handled.

SUBJECTS

Subjects of the study were lower secondary school students in grade nine. A sample was based on two schools in Northern Finland (N=143) and two schools in Southern Finland (N=151). One vocational school in Northern Finland was used as a comparison school (N=87). The data were gathered in the academic year 1988 - 89. The pretest data was collected in early August and the posttest data in May in class situation. The majority of questions used were closed.

The results of the study in the pretest phase suggest that students have a broad conception of the the scope of family education. A great majority of students (71.2 %) regarded family education as an important subject. Female students (85.4 %) viewed family education more important than male students (53.9 %).

PROBLEMS

In the first phase of the research:

I. What do students think is the content of family education?

2. How do students evaluate the importance of family education as a subject in school?
3. What kind of views have students about youth,family,marriage, parenthood, old people and many useful and economical things in the span of family life ?

In the second phase of the research:

4. How has the family education program changed attitudes, knowledge and ways. Which family problems (parenting,marital problems) have been handled?

METHODS

The data were gathered using forms of interview.The statements of the form are based on the book by Mirja Kalliopuska & Sirkka Karjalainen: Span of Family Life (1988). The majority of statements were measured using a five-point scale (Likert type): completely disagree, disagree, no opinion, agree, completely agree. I have also some cases of family life for instance: What do you do when your wife/husband drinks too much and it causes difficulties at home and at work? What do you do when your wife/husband is very jealous? What do you when your child lies to you?

I have gathered here some preliminary and descriptive results of my pretest data. The results are presented with percents. I present here seven tables with information about views adolescents have about the importance of family education, marriage, children, young and old people and knowledge of everyday life.
It seems that adolescents have a broad conception of the scope of family education. They told that family education is much more than cooking and taking care of children. They knew that family education tells things about life from birth to death.

Table 1: The content of family education

	Girls (n=219)	Boys (n=153)	Total (n=381)
* Family education tells about life from birth to death	55.2	27.4	43.5
* Family education is nothing but cooking	0.5	2.5	1.3
* Family education is nothing but taking care of children	2.7	8.5	4.9
* Family education includes things about liking and loving	75.7	52.6	64.4
* Family education includes things about making home	98.2	87.7	92.4

School students evaluated an importance of family education as a subject as following:

Table 2: The importance of family education as subject

	Girls (n=219)	Boys (n=153)	Total (n=332)
* Family education is unnecessary	6.8	22.7	13.1
Family education is necessary	85.4	53.9	71.2
* Everybody doesn't know what	12.4	17.5	14.2
things are included in family education	57.4	40.7	49.7

Over 70 % of basic school pupils said that family education is necessary (n=332) and 86 % of undergraduate said that it is necessary (n=36). Only 2.8% of undergraduates said that everybody knows which things are included in family education.

Table 3: Family and marriage

	Girls (n=218)	Boys (n=154)	Total (n=381)
* Family is the basic unit in society	82.1	77.9	78.6
* Marriage is an impulsive effort to live together	3.7	9.1	5.8
* It is easier to leave a relationships when you are not get married	69.1	70.5	69.3
* It is necessary to take care of good relations in marriage	78.0	51.5	62.0

When I asked about relations in family 71 % of pupils said that it is important to know himself in order to have good relations in family. Only 36.9 % agree that there is often a scapegoat in family whom is always to be blamed for difficulties. The majority of adolescents (78.6%) thought that family is the basic unit in society. A certain amount (37.2 %) of basic school pupils said that it takes years to adapt oneself to parenthood, but 41.9 % of pupils had no opinions about it. 53. % of adolescents disagreed with the statement that nowadays parents don't know how to educate children. 48.5 % of basic school pupils said that the background of parents has no effect on the education, but older undergraduates (86.1 %) said that the background is very important. When I asked what is successful parenthood 81 % of basic school pupils and 97.2 % of undergraduates said it is growing and developing together with the child.

Table 4: Adolescent views (%)

	Girls	Boys	Total
* Adolescence is a wonderful time of life	85.9	84.6	84.3
* Adolescent must meet many challenges of growth	85.9	84.5	89.8
* Every adolescent is unique	89.9	79.5	84.3
* In the mind of an adolescent there is uncertainty about himself	78.6	52.0	66.2
* The adolescent compares himself to other youths	91.4	70.5	81.9
* Parents don't understand youth who is going through puberty			39.0
* The boys start seeing the opposite sex earlier than girls	6.4	20.6	8.3
* Abortion is a mean of birth control	13.3	26.6	18.6
* Daydreams make it easier to deal love	35.1	25.6	30.9
* Sorrow is a strange feeling to an adolescent	7.8	16.0	11.0
* Adolescent,who has a weak self-esteem,covers his uncertainty by swaggering			67.1
* It is generally appreciated to be a member of a group			61.2
* Adolescent needs the leading support of his parents			85.4
* Youth is often very sensitive to advertising and adds create needs to buy the product			70.2

The majority (84.3 %) of adolescents thought that adolescence is a wonderful time of life. They knew also that there are many challenge of growth, only 5 % disagreed with the statement and 9.7 % had no opinion. Even other statements supported the good knowledge young people had of their life situation and pains of growth.

Table 5: Views on old people (%)

	Total
* It is not necessary to be prepared for retirement.	30.7
* There are too many old people who take social services from adolescents.	13.1
* We can learn wisdom of life from old people.	81.4
* The old people must kept in old people's homes.	13.1
* All old people are unique.	70.4

The views on old people seemed to be the most difficult. 44 % of adolescents had no opinion on preparing for retirement. 24 % thought that preparing is not necessary and 30.7 % that it necessary. 81.4 % of adolescents learned wisdom from old people.

Table 6: Views of children (%)

	Girls (n=199)	Boys (n=111)	Total
* Babies cause nothing but trouble	5.0	11.4	7.6
* Babies cry seeming ..necessarily	12.3	23.7	17.3
* TV is the best baby sitter	1.9	15.3	7.3
* Baby needs a lot of clothes and other suppli	84.6	77.8	80.9

Views on children were different among girls and boys. Female adolescents (90.9 %) disagreed with the statement that babies cause nothing but trouble compared with the views of male adolescents (70.7 %). Girls (84.6 %) and boys (77.8 %) thought that a baby needs a lot of clothes and other supplies.

Table 7: Some facts about knowledge of everyday life

	Girls	Boys	Total
* The rights and duties of married couple are not identical according to the law of marriage	9.3	13.9	9.7
* The marriage pact overturns the married right	25.5	54.3	27.0
* Family planning means that every baby has the right to be born as desired	84.1	82.9	81.1
* Terminal nursing means helping to die	32.4	54.9	33.3
* The violence of TV and video adds aggressive behaviour	58.9	83.3	60.2
* The youth becomes independent from his parents little by little	84.1	97.3	85.1
* Alcohol causes many problems in a family	81.8	97.3	81.7
* The purpose of sickness insurance is to give economical support during sickness	69.3	94.4	70.7
* Sex education is very important			83.0
* Abortion is not a mean of birth control			73.5

Boys had much more knowledge about facts of everyday life than girls. They

knew better 54.3 %) that marriage pact overturns the married right than girls (25.5 %). Terminal nursing was difficult to understand to both groups, only 33.3 % knew that it means helping to die, 10.7 % disagreed and 51.3 % had no opinion. Alcohol causes many problems in a family - 97.3 % of boys and 81.8 % of girls agreed with it. Boys knew also better the purpose of sickness insurance.

REFERENCES

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979) The ecology of human development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Duval, E. (1967) Family development. Philadelphia: Lippincott.

Helve, H. (1987) Nuorten maailmankuva. Uskontotieteen jaoston toimitteita 4. Helsingin yliopisto.

Kalliopuska, M. & Karjalainen, S. (1988) Perheen elämänkaari. Helsinki: Yliopistopaino.

Anna-Kaisa Ylönen
Impilinna Day Care Centre, Hyvinkää

EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE IN THE FINNISH KINDERGARTEN

The German pedagogue Friedrich Fröbel (1782-1852) is an essential name when discussing the Finnish day care system. For the first, because it was his ideas that inspired the foundation of the first Finnish kindergarten a hundered years ago. The first Finnish kindergarten teachers were trained in Berlin and they initiated the training of educators in Helsinki.

The second reason in that Fröbel has in fact discovered the child as such in the pedagogical sense. The first Finnish kindergartens were established on social grounds for the care of neglected children of the poor people. However, Fröbel´s ideas were put into practice in them as well:

"The kindergarten should not only look after the preschool aged child, but also make them active as suits their age and bearing in order to strengthen their bodies, train their senses, keep the awakening spirits active and familiarize them with the surrounding world and nature."

For the third, Fröbel was not only a philosopher but also a developer of a pedagogical tradition based on the child´s natural way of being and consisting of elements of play, work and learning. He developed tools for the training of a child´s hand and mind: he wrote rhythms and composed songs to help the educators in their work.

The Finnish kindergarten of the 1950´s still had a lot of characteristics in the Fröbel tradition, but ideas of other educators, such as Maria Montessori, had also been taken along. The 1960´s were an age of industrial transition. Authorities were falling and by the 1970´s many sensible ideas has also been buried and forgotten. The permissive upbringing in the Summerhill tradition was experimented. Waste material was used for pottering and many "Fröbel playing bricks" carried the label of "great art" when glued to a toilet paper roll.

With the increasing flow of information around, more attention was paid on the learning skills of the children. School was started already in the preliminary school. The educational programs from East Germany and the Soviet Union seemed effective, especially as there was no research work carried out in our own country on the various fields of day care.

A new day care law was passed on in 1973. There was a vigorous increase in the quantity of services and after a while also research work and experiments were initiated in the field.

A new day care law was passed on in 1973. There was a vigorous increase in the quantity of services and after a while also research work and experiments were initiated in the field.

Those studying to become kindergarten teachers took firm stands and discussed which was the better division in education "the central monthly issue" or "the content issue". In both cases the goals for education were written down after the forms of functioning, material and the processes of educational work had been designed. Party politics entered also the day care planning. Teachers were employed on political criterion. Peace education, nature preservation and international education were given political values that were not to be discussed with children. It is only recently that educators have been forced to realize the importance of conveying also these values. We are still debating whether the child should be brought up at home, in a family day care or a day care center. The preferences are decided according to the employment situation and the availability of day care services.

The flow of mass entertainment and culture into our country made the educators aware of the importance of arts education. Today we have material to support also the visual arts education. The preservation of our national culture is considered important. In addition to traditional music, suitable material for kindergarten education has been discovered in the national handicraft tradition, too.

Appreciating play as a natural activity for a child is gaining more support and given more time in the kindergarten curriculum. Several studies have been carried out in this field recently. Fröbel´s ideas are rediscovered; now we realize what he meant by claiming that an educator should be internally active and externally passive. Work as a form of education has also been rediscovered when evaluating the functioning of our day care system. For years the children were carrying out ostensible duties which were completed by adults - thus those duties were of no use for anybody. There is enough staff in our day care system for the actual work. There is today again a tendency to rely on the child´s own potentials. We are turning back to Fröbel´s ideas and the circle is completed.

I would like to discuss some important issues in today´s day care debate:

The child´s play has been impoverished, his/her attention span has become shorter and in general play has changed a lot for example from the days of my childhood. An adult does not necessarily understand the child´s motivation to "play" the rubbish TV series. The Finnish children no longer

play "horse and carriage" as they do not see them anywhere around anymore. Being a customer in a child´s imaginary shop can be confusing as the "customer" (i.e. the adult) imagines dealing with a kiosk keeper and the child sees him/herself as a cashier in a super market.

The day care center is the best play ground because there are playmates: the child has perhaps no playmates at home or in the courtyard there.

In our day care center we try to organize daily more time for play and diminish the time used for guided activities. THe children move outdoors or take a snack when they are through with they play or can interrupt the play without any inconvenience. There is no need to clear and clean the playground every day if the same play will probably continue the day after.

We have realized in practice that a group of twenty children aged three to six will operate the better the more they play: they sort their quarrels themselves, help each other and change playmates according to varying situations.

The lack of model for work has provoked criticism within the day care system. Most children lack the model also at home: the kitchens are equipped with all kinds of machines, the children are told to get out of way for cleaning, the evenings are spent watching the TV and not for example listening to the radio that would leave place also for other simultaneous activities. Needlework or handiwork are no longer appreciated skills as we can by everything ready in the shops. Thus the skills of hand are deteriorating.

We are constantly looking for new duties for the children to carry out independently. They already dress, undress and help each other. They can do their beds and their lockers and clean the table after meals (each child does his/her own place). THey can help the kitchen staff and the cleaning staff in their work. Manual skills are also trained by preparing the material for pottery ourselves.

It has also been a great relief in teaching to realize that not everything can be taught to the whole group at one time. In a small group it is possible to take into consideration the needs of an individual child while others are at play.

Educating oneself is a continuous task. The teacher´s mind should be at the child´s disposal but the teacher should not feed the child with ready ideas. How should we present the child with problems to be solved and rely on the child´s own mental capacity. In addition, we should convince the child of his/her own capacity to solve even universal problems of survival.

The Finnish family is today more closed than it was ten years ago. Breaking through the shyness, reservedness and low self-esteem will lead to uncomplicated cooperation but requires strong self-criticism of the educator.This work is not done for the love for the child but for the love for the human being.

Istvan Horvath
Institute for Psychology of the
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

THE BEST TIME OF THE THREE-MONTH-OLDS´ DAY: DEVELOPMENTAL AND PREDICTIVE ASPECTS OF THE BATHING SESSIONS OF FOUR HUNDRED BABIES IN BUDAPEST

As I understand the main purpose of this conference, it is to start a more intensive scientific exchange between Finnish and Hungarian scholars of family research. Giving formal lectures that present only a narrow slice of our research results can serve this aim, but only partially.

I think it is equally important to get acquainted, in a broader sense, with one another's views, research topics, and scientific interests, including doubts and work hypotheses, on whom collaborative research projects can hopefully be built if common points of interest are found.

This affects what I am going say in two ways:

Firstly, preparing my talk on bathing, I felt it unnecessary to round each sharp edge, or draw premature conclusions only for the sake of elegancy. I would rather share my uncertainties and half-cooked hypotheses with you in the hope that a work paper will better serve the getting acquainted process.

Secondly, I decided to use some minutes of the luxurious half hour to talk about more general aspects of a Fenno-Hungarian family research -- even at the expense of shortening the time for research report.

I am very grateful for the opportunity to be present at this conference. Not only because I could return to the country where I spent some of the happiest weeks of my youth, but more importantly, I hope to learn especially about two things from you.

Professor Ranschburg talked about some sad recent development concerning families in Hungary. A major element in the impoverishment of the family as a resource of comfort, solidarity and support for its members is the way and pace the women has been recruited in the labour force in the postwar decades. I think we can provide information about how emancipation of women can contribute to the destruction of gender roles, family cohesion, parental involvement in children.

On the other hand, to my knowledge, Finland is unique in its female work history. If I know right it was Finland where employment of women started

earliest in Europe and the society has found the way to save the integrity of family, and men and women could save their gender identity. Exaggerating the point: I cannot help thinking that the Finnish know something about how to make a woman´seconomic and maternal role compatible, something that the rest of the world does seem to know.

Viewing families from a slightly different angle, I have the impression that the welfare of children is more in the focus in Finland while children in Hungary are more often considered in economic terms, as expenses of social policy, or as factors the families have to cope with.

Summarizing these sketchy remarks, I think it is worth discussing if a complementarity of the two societies in the history and present state of women s work and in the "meaning" of the child are valid concepts in comparative studies.

To turn to bathing, I do not think that too many developmental psychologists, psychoanalysts, or concerned practising middle class parents would disagree with that bathing is a distinguished period in the daily activity of a baby, a natural occasion for stimulation and play, an important source of joy and satisfaction, and an opportunity to express love and concern on the caregiver s part, and trust on the child's. Or it should be.

When the first phase of our study, the Budapest Longitudinal Study of Development was designed nine years ago we decided to include an emphasized observation of the bathing situation in the hope that information about how a little baby is bathed, what happens before and after he/she is washed will be predicative of later development.

The Budapest Longitudinal Study of Development (BLSD) has been following up about four hundred children who were born in 1982-83 and their families in Budapest. The basic task of this prospective study is to collect developmental information to an analysis of adaptation problems, deviant behavioral forms that will appear in some of the subjects at a later age. Since the sample is sociologically representative we can be fairly sure that this will happen.

To comply with the task we collected a wide range of data about the developing children and their families in all the three major contacts with the families so far, and our database seems to be a rich source of information to test a variety of family-related hypotheses, long before the study children start committing their first crimes, dropping out of school, or becoming alcoholics.

With dr Ranschburg who is the director of this project, we regularly return to this source to test various indicators of maternal and, more generally,

parental behaviour. The catch has been two important key-variables so far.

The first was 'leaving the child in the house". Mothers who answered they left their three months old babies without supervision had a different emotional background and we learnt that the meaning of this simple and everyday act by one third of the mothers is a milder form of abandonment.

The second of the key-variables was breastfeeding. By the 3rd to 4th months only half of the babies were breastfed. Against our expectations breast feeding proved to be influenced almost exclusively by the SES and cultural conditions of childhood families of the parents and present families, thus giving breastfeeding a socio-cultural meaning.

I returned to the database to learn about the meaning of bathing in the same sense.

Let me quickly introduce the Budapest Longitudinal Study to you.

Table 1: The Budapest Longitudinal Study of Development

	Sample:	443 children and their families born January 1. 1982 to August 31.1983. 2 percent representative sample.
CONTACT	AGE	CONTENT
0	pregnancy	Health, marital relationship
I.	100 days	<u>Test with parents</u> * MEHRABIAN: empathy, affiliation, rejection * STAI: state and trait anxiety * BRENGELMAN-TRINGER: extroversion, neurocity, rigidity * OSGOOD: semantic differential about spouse, child, self * MFSK: four factor M-F test about self and ideal self Modesty, Career, Einstein, Mother, Hen dimensions <u>Interviews and questionnaires with parents</u> Directed biographical interview * Closed questionnaire: childhood, SES, culture, activity, pregnancy, birth, child care

* Structured interview: marriage history, expecting, birth and interaction in the family of the baby, health and characteristics of the child, care, breast feeding, relation with siblings
* Test with child: Developmental list, compiled by B. Szegal

Observations

* Bathing: standardized recording of undressing, actual bathing and dressing, tempral, emotional and maternal care parameters

Feeding: standardized recording of bottle or breast feeding

Housing: closed recording of housing circumstances

II. 2 years

Tests with parents

MFSK: retest
Raven intelligence test

Interview and questionnaires with parents

* Closed questionnaire: SES, cultural and leisure indicators, child care, father´s participation
* Semistructured interview: changes since first contact, child development and characteristics, reward and punishment, family economy and activities, health, separation and integration of child, parental self-evaluation

Tests with child

* Denver developmental test

Developmental list

Observations

Bathing: initiations of child and reaction of parent

* Home inventory

Housing observation

III. 5-6 years

Tests with parents

Osgood: retest
Marital test by Jemail and LoPiccolo

Interviews and questionnaires with parents

Closed questionnaire: same as in the II. sweep
Structured interview: changes since last contact, development and characteristics of child, kindergarten, health, parental roles, family economy and activity

Data about child

* Binet intelligence test
School readiness test
"Postman" sociometry in kindergarten
Kindergarten teacher assessment

In the first table the contacts with the families and a selection of the main tools used are presented.
An asterisk indicates that variables from an item were entered in the analysis with the bathing data.

The 443 children form a representative sample of all babies born in Budapest, in an eighteen month interval, starting with the beginning of 1982.

The average age of the babies was 100 days at the first contact.

A lot of tests were administered with the parents, including the Mehrabian empathy scale, the Spielberger anxiety test, the MFSK, measuring self and ideal masculinity-femininity along four dimensions

Information was obtained from the parents by interviews and questionnaires about their childhood, SES and cultural background, and the child, among others.

The development of the baby was assessed by the Szegal developmental scale.

The interviewer observed the bathing and the evening feeding of the babies, and also the housing conditions of the family.

I detail the observation of the bath in a minute.

We approached the families just after the second birthday of the child for the second time, and in the last preschool year in the third sweep of the study

In the present analysis I used only the Denver scores, the Home inventory results, and information concerning the development of the study child from the second phase, and from the third phase only the Binet IQ.

Our interviewers observed the bath of the child at a time when it normally happened that day. She asked the mother to ignore her presence as much as possible, and tried to disturb the situation as little as possible. She used a standard recording sheet, but was also encouraged to put down her remarks. For the uniformity of observations the interviewers were previously very carefully trained by videotaped sessions and by live observations, until they reached hundred percent agreement on the main parameters with the standard coding.

The evening activity of the observed families was rather uniform. With a few exceptions bathing started between 7 and 9 in the evening and was followed by feeding immediately afterwards.

Since in our opinion bathing is such an important daily event in a baby s life the first things I wanted to know were how much time he or she spends in it, and how happy he is in it.

So I chose only six variables to represent the bathing session in this exploratory analysis.

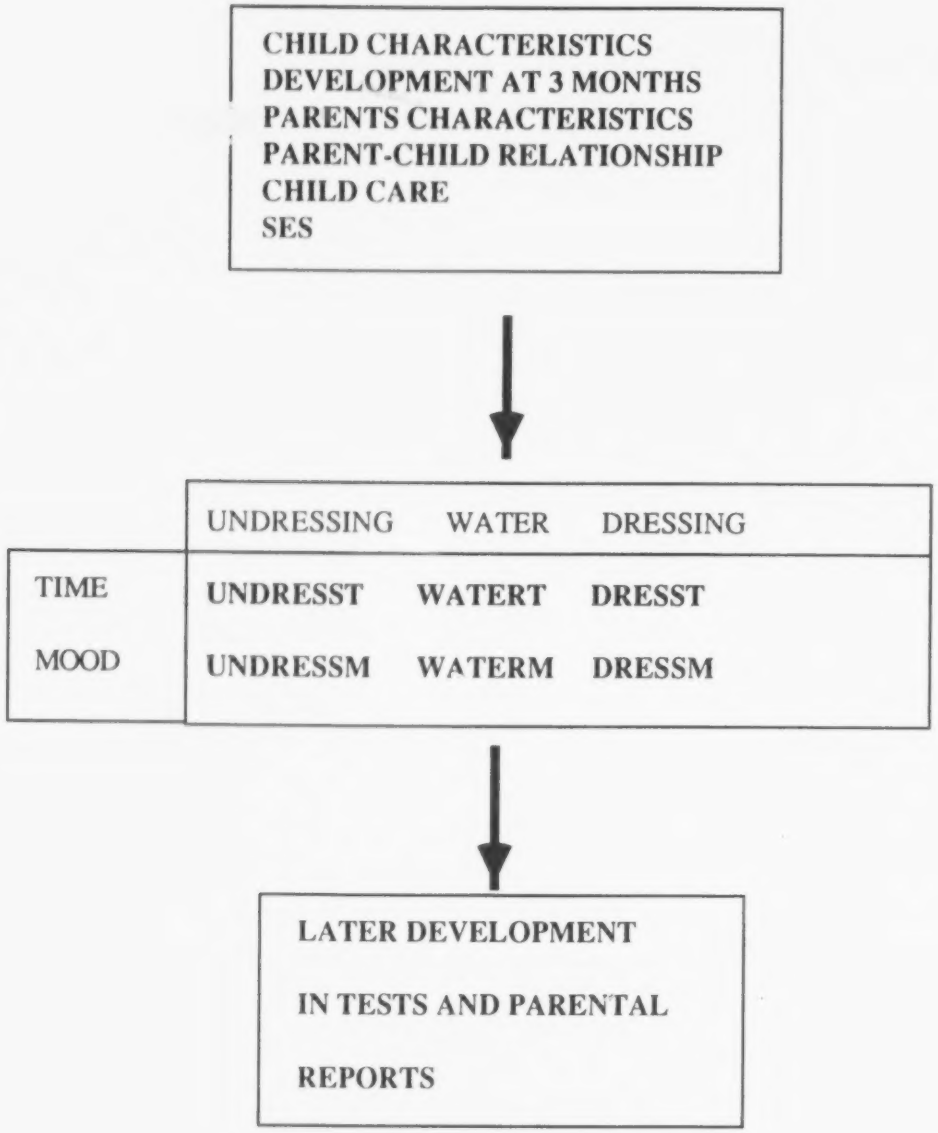
The time spent with undressing the baby and related care (UNDRESST), spent in water by the baby (WATERT), and spent with the after bath care and dressing (DRESST), measured in minutes. The emotional status of the child was also recorded separately for the three parts (UNDRESSM, WATERM, AND DRESSM). The mood was coded good, fussy, or crying, based on the baby´s vocalization and motor activity (see Table 2).

These six parameters of bathing were correlated against two sets of variables of the BLSD database.

With the first group I examined how child traits and developmental variables, parental traits, parent-child relationship, child care and SES affect bathing. The second, output variable set was much smaller, and contained only important indicators of development after the first contact.

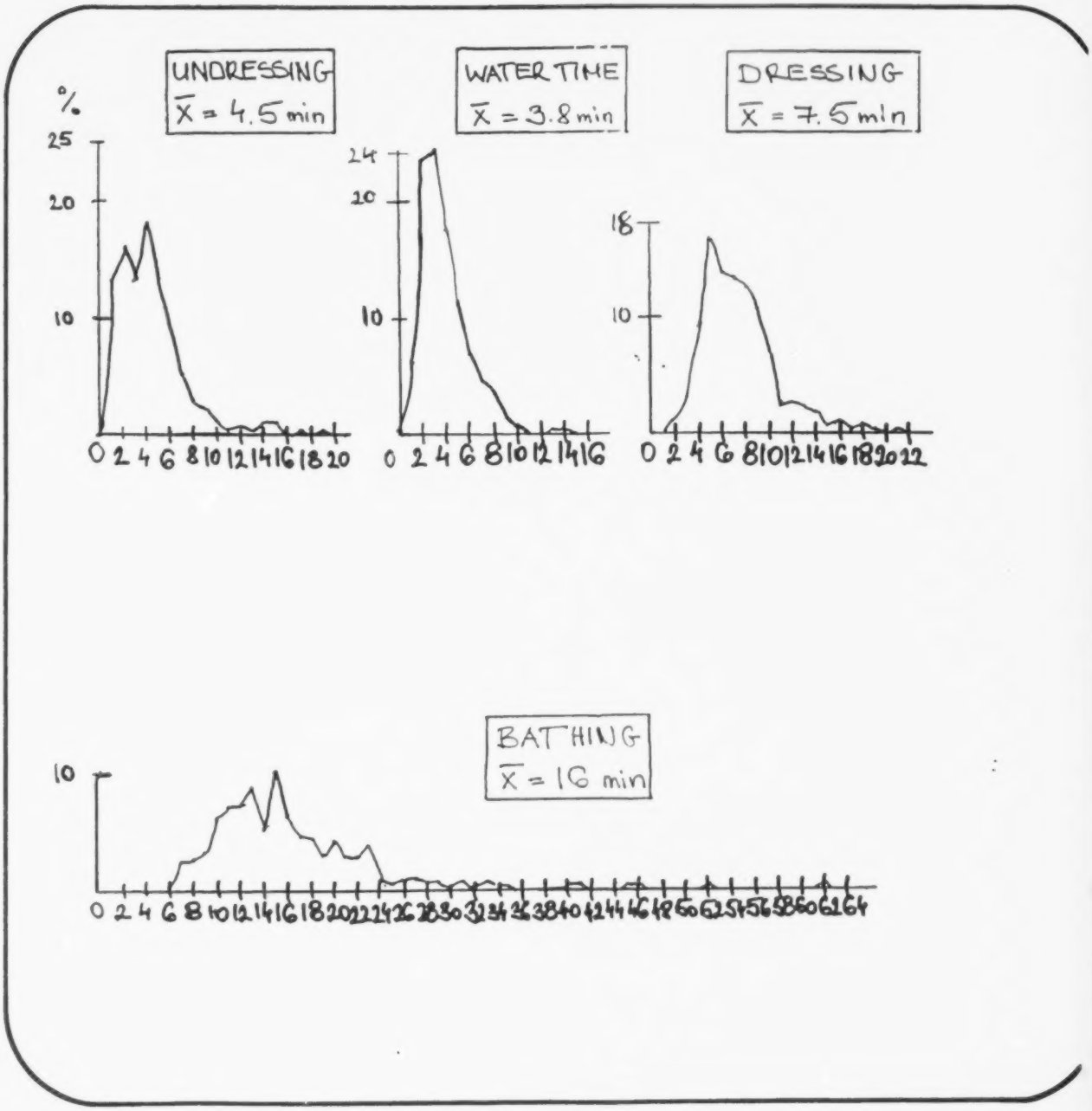
Let us see first, what happens in the black box, that is how the six parameters relate to one another.

Table 2: The bathing session variables



For the average child the whole thing is over in 16,5 minutes. He is ripped of his clothes in 4,5 minutes, dipped in water for an even shorter 3,8 minutes and dressed for another 7,5 minutes (Table 3). The individual variations are very large, e.g. the longest WATER TIME is 21 minutes and the longest bathing session lasts for an hour but in general we felt that these parameters are extremely short and our babies deserve something better.

Table 3


UNDRESSING
$\bar{x}$ = 4.5 min
%
25
20
10
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20
WATER TIME
$\bar{x}$ = 3.8 min
24
20
10
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16
DRESSING
$\bar{x}$ = 7.5 min
18
10
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22
BATHING
$\bar{x}$ = 16 min
10
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48 50 52 54 56 58 60 62 64

The average time doesn't seem to allow but for the technical minimum to perform a bathing session.

Figure 1: Changes in emotional state during bathing

The changes of the mood over the three phases of bathing are presented in the next figure. The first line is undressing, the second is water, and the third is dressing. The whole width is the hundred per cent, and the smiling, sad and crying faces illustrate what proportion of children were OK, fussy and crying in the three phases of bathing (Figure 2).

Three quarter of the babies start in good mood. Being placed in the water has a magic effect: even the majority of the ones who were distressed until now, calm down. Only thirteen per cent remains (and o few becomes) distressed. Taking them out of the water ruins this idyllic picture: Almost 30 percent will cry, and more than two third becomes distressed altogether.

Mood and duration of the phases are in quite interesting dynamics.

Figure 3: Cross lag correlations between time and mood

This figure presents correlations of mood and length in two cross lag designs (Figure 3). The first is between undressing and water, and the second is between water and dressing. The differences indicate that the mood in the previous phase influences the duration of the next, but the duration does not influence the mood in the next. If the child has a pleasant undressing phase he will spend half minute more in the water, what sounds natural. I cannot find, however any good explanation why a better emotional state in the water shortens the dressing, rather than prolonging it. The difference between happy and distressed children here is 1 minute.

A correlational "fishing" tour that I made has risks. It may miss important associations whose linear component is not strong. And we can also catch correlations with false significance if we check enough number of coefficients. In spite of this danger, I think there are certain tendencies in the results. The handout presents these results.

I do not go through it because it is quite self-explanatory. Instead I risk to summarize the results in short statements.

First I show the input side, that is more complicated and contradictory, then the outcome side which is unanimous.

Probably first is the best supported statement, that the bathing linearly shortens with the birth order (Table 4). If the child is not a crier, and is

Figure 1

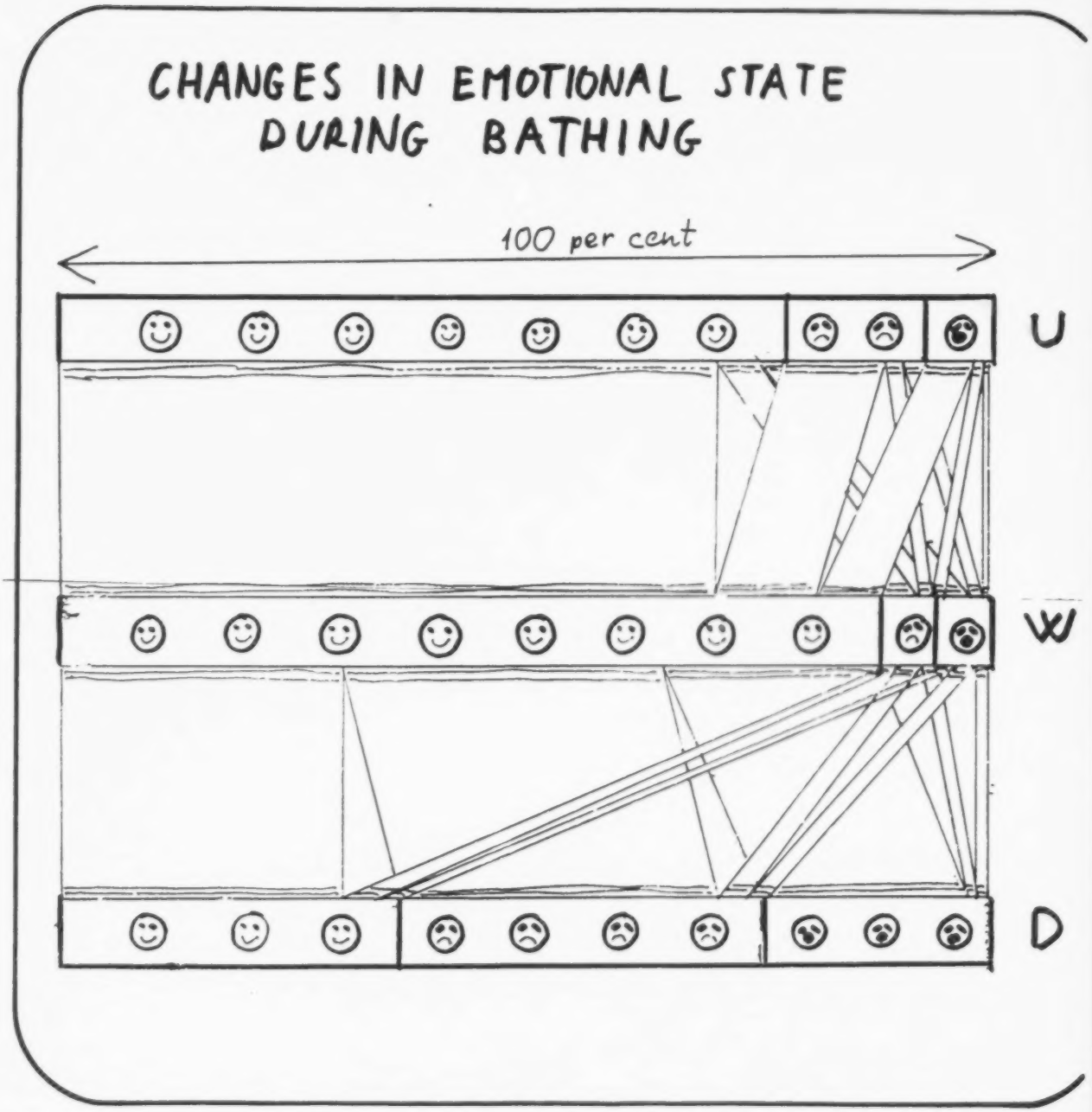


Figure 2

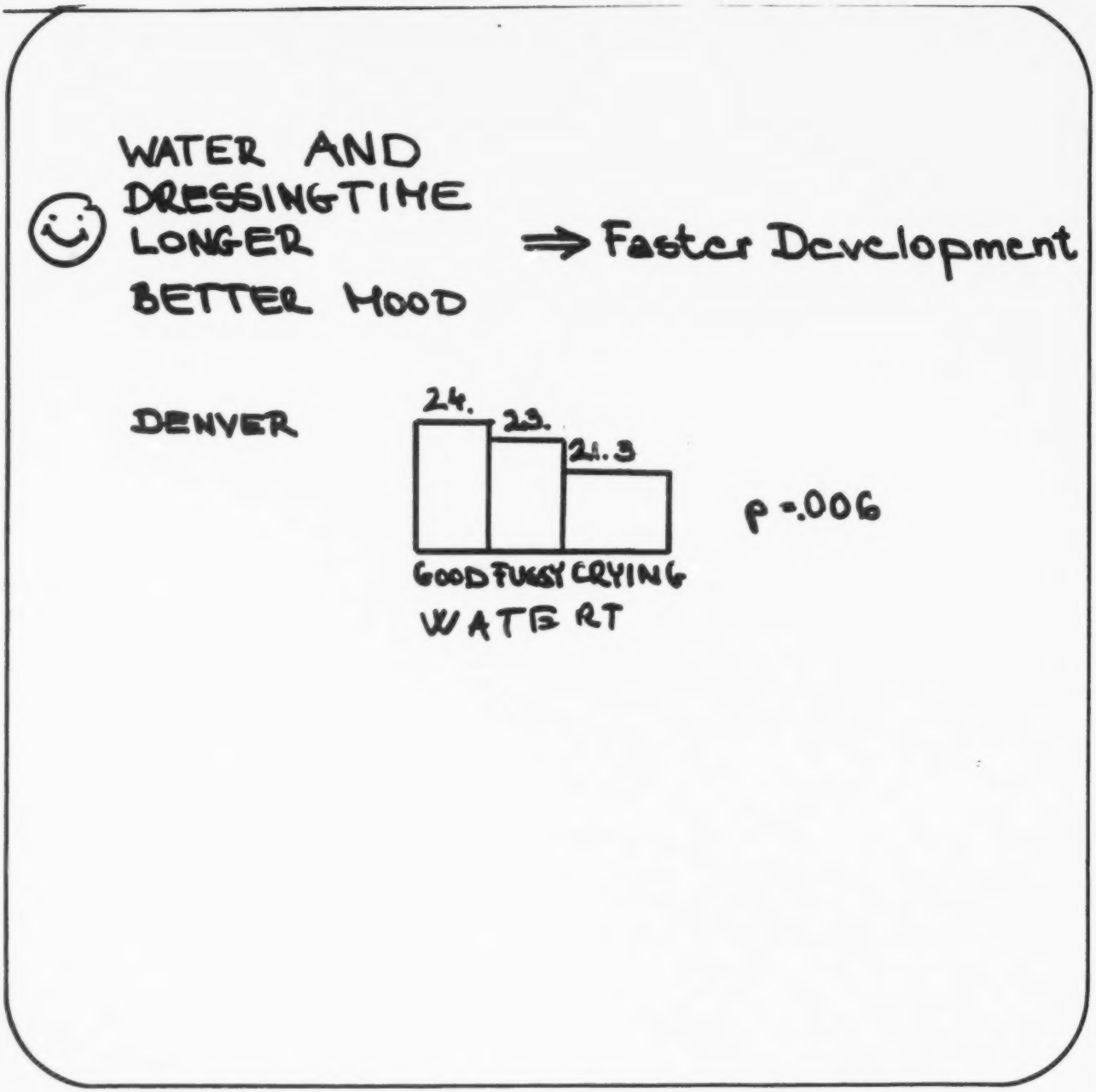

WATER AND
DRESSINGTIME
LONGER
BETTER MOOD
⇒ Faster Development
DENVER
24.
23.
21.3
p=.006
GOOD FUSSY CRYING
WATER RT

Figure 3

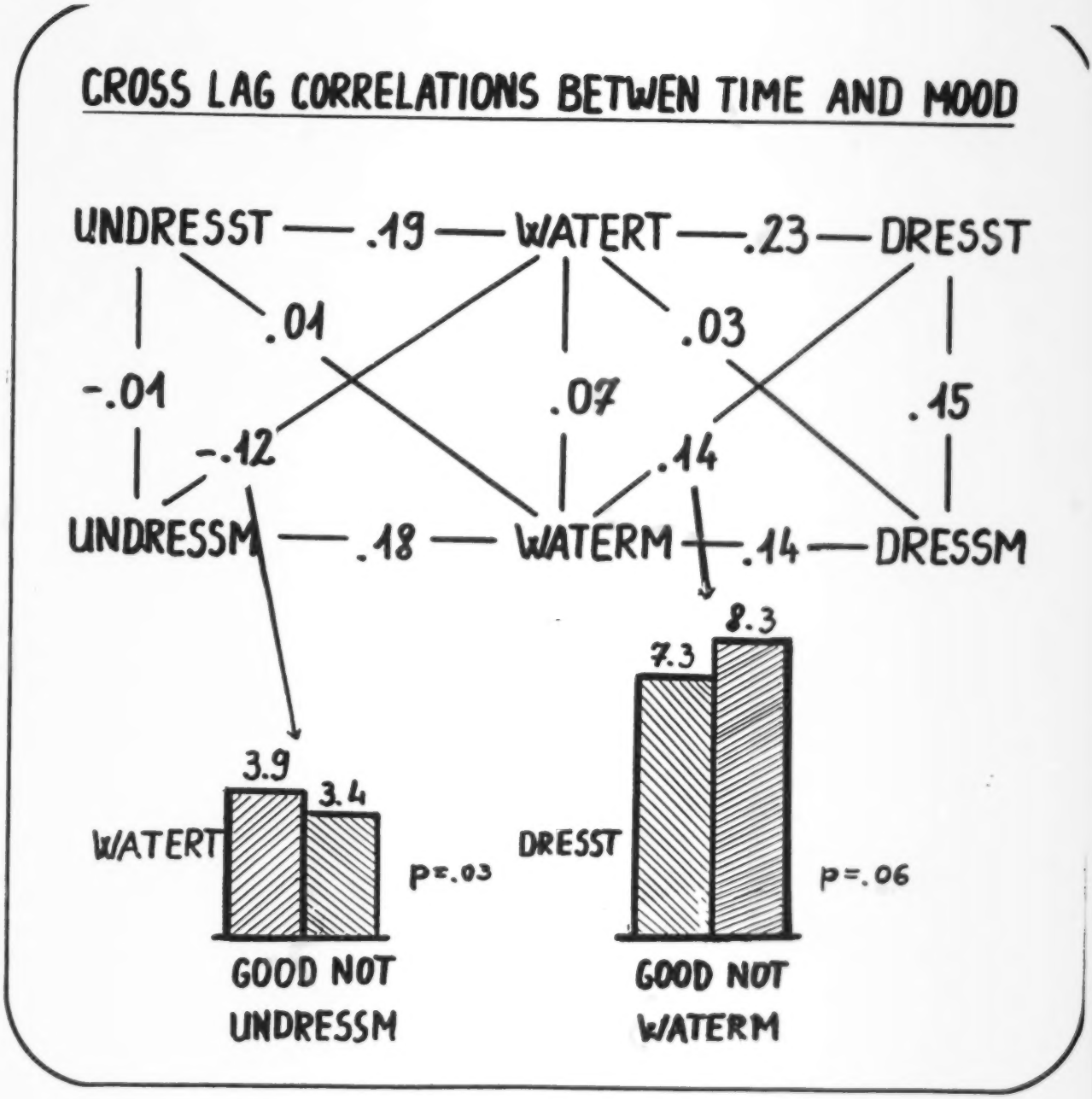

CROSS LAG CORRELATIONS BETWEN TIME AND MOOD
UNDRESST
.19
WATERT
.23
DRESST
.01
.03
-.01
.07
.15
-.12
.14
UNDRESSM
.18
WATERM
.14
DRESSM
3.9
3.4
WATERT
p=.03
GOOD NOT
UNDRESSM
8.3
7.3
DRESST
p=.06
GOOD NOT
WATERM

Table 4

THE BATHING SESSION LINEARLY SHORTENS WITH THE GROWTH IN BIRTH ORDER
EASIER CHILD TEMPERAMENT ADVANCE IN DEVELOPMENT
⇒ LONGER AND HAPPIER BATHING
HIGHER SES
⇒ (SHORTER BUT) HAPPIER TIME IN TUB
HIGHER HOME INVENTORY FACTORS
⇒ HAPPIER BATHING SESSION
MORE MASCULINE FATHERS AND !MOTHERS!
⇒ LONGER AND HAPPIER SESSION
HAPPIER FATHERS
⇒ HAPPIER DRESSING
ANXIOUS MOTHER
⇒ LONGER SESSION AND LESS HAPPY DRESSING
BREAST FEEDING LONGER
⇒ BATHING LONGER
PERMISSIVE M. GMOTHER
⇒ LONGER SESSION
EXPECTED AND PROBLEM-FREE PREGNANCY AND BIRTH
⇒ HAPPIER UNDRESSING

higher on the developmental list, he will be bathed longer, and will be happier.

I confess that I expected the strongest association between high SES and long bathing, what was not proved, but a higher SES does result in a happier session, as expected.

Higher Home inventory scores associate with better mood.

If parents (fathers and mothers) are more masculine, their children receive longer care, and are happier, I do not know why.

We might be surprised seeng that mothers higher on the anxiety scales bathe their babies longer

Breast feeding and bathing has a connection.

And we might be also happy to see, that if the nother experienced a more permissing rearing style by her mother she will also let her baby bath longer.

The correlations of the bathing parameters and and development later are just what we hoped: longer and happier bathing result in faster developnent

Antal Z. Laszlo
Institute of Sociology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

REPORT ON A RESEARCH ON PREGNANCY, BIRTH AND FOLLOWING BIRTH EXPERIENCES (WHY TO CHOOSE AN OBSTETRICIAN?)

In 1987, the Institute of Sociology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Pest County Council performed a joint analysis for the study on circumstances of birth and perinatal experiences.

The aim of the survey was to examine the state and circumstances of birth, pregnancy, the risks that may arise from them and the start of life. The study includes the sociological evaluation of all circumstances that may influence the mental— physical properties of infants. We aimed at observing those sociological conditions, factors, cultural attitudes that influence the ways of pregnancy, expecting baby and parturition. Those sanitary problems have been observed and revealed that determine the character and quality of a would—be life, the pregnancy, the birth and the following birth. We have observed the manners of how a new life is expected and welcome by its first surroundings,.

After a one year preparatory work we could start the empirical survey. In six towns, all situated in Pest county around Budapest, young mothers were visited 3 months prior to birth. They completed a detailed questionnaire, and several weeks after childbirth deep interviews were done about circumstances of birth and arriving home. We are planning to interview them again at the babies´ one year age, and with a new questionnaire we shall ask them about their experiences during the previous year. According to preliminary estimation, roughly 300 babies are to birth in this period, all of them will be visited and we are planning to deep interview 50 mothers.

In the questionnaire there are 11 set of inquiries that reveals all those circumstances in which mothers will born and bring up her children. These are as follows:

- Family composition, housing conditions
- Attitude to pregnancy — from the first symptoms till now
- Own health, way of life, alimentation
- Sanity network, prenatal care
- Preparations for childbirth
- Expecting baby
- The baby´s father
- Work, workplace
- House-work, division of labour
- Family in the past, parent
- Income, financial status.

The questioning is not yet finished, Till now approximately 200 questionnaries have been filled in, and 120 of them are fed into a computer that enables us to cite several preliminary data in this paper? The set of questions of deep interview is in close relation with the cycle of events of childbirth:

- Last days before birth
- From birth-throes till hospital
- From arriving to hospital till childbirth
- Childbirth
- Following birth in hospital
- From hospital to home
- At home about the baby.

Several mothers selected for this survey have already given birth to their children, so we could complete the deep interviews with them, and here we cite some parts of them.

At present, maintaining a continuous surveying, we are working on a questionnaire with which we shall interview the mothers about a one year experiences followed birth. Within the frame— work of this research, I specially deal with the connection of mothers and the public health institutions, therefore the paper will be limited to this area and expatiated on this.

For the better understanding of these questions detailed after— wards it is necessary the exposition of the Hungarian sanitary affairs to know why the mothers give birth to their babies as it is given.

SEVERAL CHARACTERS OF THE HUNGARIAN HEALTH PROVISION

In Hungary, the health provision is free of charge and based on an equal supply. This has a disadvantage, however, namely the loose of the right to choose a physician. There are National Health Insurance district surgeries for both out- and in-patients, The subsidizing of public health institutions is performed from budget that transforms the otherwise bilateral connection of citizen—health organizations into a many-sided, most complicated process, because the employees´ money gets into the hospitals via a long confused way (employer, state budget, county budget, local municipal budget, out—patients' finance budget), Due to this confused procedure the patients may think that they get these service free of charge, but the truth is that the whole service is financed from their own money. The citizens have no say in the matter, they are absolutely defenseless, and moreover, it is enhanced by the lack of free choice of physician.

It's a fundamental trait of the Hungarian health provision the big differences at various parts of the country /in number of physicians, medical supplies, etc.), and in consequence of the lack of free physician choice it means, for a great part of the society, a worse health provision than the average.

For facilitating comprehension of the functional mechanism of the Hungarian sanitary establishment, one has to know that the salary of the health workers is very low. A doctor´s fee is less than a skilled worker's wages of the same age. In this funny system of economic motivators, which is disliked by the physicians and workers alike a peculiar "contract" is made between doctors and patients: some patients manage to choose their own doctors, pay them, and the doctors receive their payments as a complementary to their low salary. The low level of treatment and the various deficiencies (sometimes one has to wait for bed, or the conditions of operation are low) make patients to pay extra charges to receive better treatment, This system has grown on the society 90 firmly that people often pay as a habit a though they don't choose their physicians, This is the so called "parasolventia" the invisible income of doctors which has a great influence on medical treatments. From the point of view of this study, it has a special importance, because the obstetricians and surgeons receive the highest parasolventia, The need for the change of this malformed system is widely demanded in Hungary and in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health a special group is working on a health reform.

THE PRACTICE OF BIRTH IN HUNGARY

In Hungary, the 99% of birth take place in hospitals, far from the family and not always among the best conditions (e.g.. common labour—room with several beds). Healthy women are often regarded as sick during pregnancy, parturition and following birth. Birth has been completely medicalized. In the present practice one can discover signs indicating that midwifery has developed from surgery.

The present practice in Hungary keeps the pregnant women within a narrow medical compass that means restrictions for them. The basic principle of the present care for pregnant women is a drive for numbers. The most important part of this view that pregnant women have to attend in person as many checking as possible. An unpersonal contact can only be built up between expectant mothers and obstetricians during pregnancy. Expectant women dare to mention their sorrows and problems when they are hard pressed. The essence of the present care is to have the regular checking (blood picture, urinalysis, weighing, control the cardiac sound, AFP control, etc.) in proper time and number, prescribe the usual ferrous and calcium pills. There is a tremendous increase in the number of those checkings that

expectant women have to attend. No wonder if they consider the whole care as a nuisance, and in fact they often have to go for controls twice, once at the official obstetrician and once at the chosen one.

The present Hungarian practice forces the expectant women into a "sick status". It´s almost unbelievable that 47% of all pregnant women are risky pregnants and what is more, 30% of all appeared in the first checking received her pathologic label. (Obstetricians have recorded 21 reasons for risky pregnancy and it seems they apply them.)

The number of checking is constantly and markedly increasing that is due to the self-defence of obstetricians. In Hungary it's a regulation that all unsuccessful pregnancy should be evaluated. The Sanitary Establishment calls upon the doctors to do their best to save all pregnancies they come across, and the obstetricians cover themselves at any rate.

In general one can say when physicians are overstretched (that may come either from above in a form of hardly unfeasible demand or from below a discontentment of the patients) they react with overstretching as well e.g. additional checking, over-insurance (operation, Caesarean section) when it is not necessary. The present Hungarian obstetrics has a 30 year lag compared to the world standard. There are hardly and attempts for using the modern, wide—spread alternative methods.

Even a minor change in the attitude of obstetricians should be welcome. For example, it can be considered as a milestone that the majority of obstetricians now think that it is more advantageous if the women during labour lay on their side not on back.(And where are we from the sitting position or birth in a bath-tube?)

With full knowledge of the Hungarian birth practice, it is not a surprise if the Professional Council of the National Birth and Gynaecological Institute rejects that WHO recommendation that a normal birth may be conducted by midwives. According to their opinion, it would be a retreat in the Hungarian perinatal care.

At present in Hungary expectant women can choose from the alternative methods on rare occasions because there are only few and unique efforts in this field contrary to the official programme that the Sanitary Establishment accepts. But it is not an easy task at all. (The Ministry is planning to issue a letter about the preparation of birth for two years, but they failed.)

The humanitarian, family-centric birth alternatives can only be introduced as unique, special endeavours . The success of this is greatly depends on the person, personality, state in the hierarchy and endurance of those several

obstetricians who have pledged themselves with the new methods and are capable to encounter with the strong professional opposition.

There are, however, negative aspects of these spreading new methods. Those obstetricians committed themselves can not always find the bounds in places and rates, and that is why in Pecs the 70% of all birth is conducted with epidureal anastasia, and those patients have to declare who don't want it. The Hungarian obstetricians were educated and taught for the traditional methods and technology(e.g. lying on back, perineal section) for many years. This latter is made obligatory in the cases of young mothers by lecture notes. There is no possibility neither for obstetricians nor midwives to get practice in new methods (e.g. birth without perineal section).

The physicians are interested, even during their study tours to abroad, in those things and methods that carry an immediate, real result. So they are more interested in the laboratory methods, new instruments or measurable analgesic techniques than the alternative birth care, because after coming home they could not replace the present care by new ones anyway however they are committed with. It has an other aspect again, namely with the new techniques in some cases physicians would become unnecessary. At no risk birth, where neither section nor suture is done, there is no need for obstetricians. In this case, the obstetricians would loose a meaningful income and that's why they are committed with the old methods. Nevertheless it is known from the WHO European comparison survey: Obstetricians are present at most uncomplicated births in only six countries (3).

In Hungary there is a very slow development in those principles (and even in practice) that aims at giving a more human birth to both mothers and babies.

Recently, there are some good signs for alteration. The number of births have drastically decreased and the obstetricians have to give something new in the competition to curry favour with expectant women. Due to this, new preparatory courses have opened up and there is a growing number of those hospitals where father may be pregnant at birth. This not sufficient speed of change is referred in a 1988 survey of a chief obstetrician - gynaecologist of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health: "The present pregnant care miss the preparation of would-be mothers and couples which is a sine qua non of a qualitative health care.

THE FIRST RESULTS OF SURVEY

On the basis of questionnaires worked up till now let's have a look at how pregnant women prepare for birth and what kind of experiences they have gained following birth.

This survey verifies the experiences known already that women are full with fear prior their first birth. This fear is increased by those news what they hear about the level of the Hungarian health care. This partly refers on the insufficient hotel services of hospitals (queuing up in front of toilets, waiting for shower, etc.) and partly on the low professional level that recently broke out in scandal. According to the questionnaires worked up till now, no pregnant women attended preparatory courses. The existing fear of young mothers and the level of domestic sanitary service compel pregnant women to choose an obstetrician for which they have to pay.

73% of the women in survey has already chosen or is going to choose obstetrician or hospital. (This number may grow during the time left before birth). The next table shows how the patients are not satisfied with the hospital they belong to:

Hospitals	Number of pregnant women belonging to the hospital	Number of pregnant women have chosen the hospital
Hospital Rokus	37	4
Üllöi u. Clinic	23	9
Hospital in Cegléd	22	12
Hospital in Kerepestartcsa	18	2
Baross u. Clinic	12	8

As it can be seen from the data a major part of the expecting mothers would like to birth in other hospitals than they belong to. It is difficult to distinguish between the hospitals chosen because expecting mothers who want to birth elsewhere have come from 6 towns into 23 various hospitals. Expecting mothers having chosen obstetrician can be specified their educational level: Those having mature or higher: 90%, those with skilled-worker certificate: 67%, and having 8 year or less elementary school: 38%. There is a great difference between various towns, because there are towns where 83%, and again, there are towns where only 58% of pregnant women choose obstetrician. This symptom will be detailed in an other work. As for the financial level, there could be seen no distinction between those belonging to various levels. They were classified into 5 levels, but there was no difference between them, 27% of the questionees told that it was no problem for them to choose an obstetrician, while 63% described their financial burden after having an obstetrician as "bearable". It can be explained with the fact that young couple have no other children at home are able to pay the usual fee of Ft 300-500 per visit and Ft 2000—3000 after birth. The monthly income of 20-25 year old young people is about Ft 5000 per month.

The answers contain some irrational elements as well. Firstly, the chosen obstetrician or the hospital is more far as a rule, so the expecting mothers have to travel more. The waiting time is always shorter. Only 13% of them arrives for a time agreed upon, 48% of them has to wait maximum 30 minutes and 21% of them has to wait more, (In cases of 18 % the waiting time is changing).

Another irrational element is that the expectant women have no professional information about the obstetricians, since 84% of the questionees told the obstetrician was not recommended by experts, but by a member of the family, a friend or a colleague. This is verified by interviews with obstetricians that sometimes obstetricians with smaller abilities have a great turn-over,while highly qualified obstetricians are chosen to a less extent. One part of the women chooses a hospital, the other part chooses an obstetrician. It is interesting, while certain people choose a hospital of not their own district, then others belonging to it by residence move to another one. One can conclude from this that there are no real informations that has influenced the choice. There is no sign that some obstetrician would loose his patients due to his bad reputation. (This can be explained that obstetricians deal with "official" and the "private" patients in different ways).

Let's have a look at it what an expectant women gets for her money The main difference is made in most cases prior to birth. They get a more accurate and more detailed information from their doctor that may be due to the fact that in this relation of patient - obstetrician the women dare to ask more. Expectant mothers say that on such occasions the obstetrician is more attentive and pays more time for them. 50% of the women say that this satisfies them.

During and following birth there is almost no difference between the care on mothers with chosen or not chosen obstetricians. This is indicated in the following interview made with a mother after birth who was sent to hospital 2 weeks before birth for reasons not known even for her. "Time passed very slowly and I thought I'd rather have a delivery than lying in hospital. I was suggested to walk upstarts and downstairs but it did not work, Later on the obstetrician told me be was going to do Caesarean section."

"Did he say why?"
"No."
"Did you ask him?"
"No, I was unable. I was happy but crying. I was upset. I have waited my baby so much but I felt frightened. My God, Caesarean section..."
"Did they ask of which direction you would like to have the section?"
"No, they didn't. They cut me lengthwise."

"Do you know you ought to have a chance?"
"Yes. I do."
"Didn´t you ask?"
"No, the nurses told me that in this hospital they cut only lengthwise..."

Not only during birth, but following birth this mother did not receive such a care she had expected. She told about the very first meeting with her baby:

"The nurses did not bring up the baby, they told they would do it, but at the moment they had no time. And they had no time the whole day, neither in the morning nor in the afternoon. I became nervous... Why don't they bring up? After all I am his mother and they don't want to show him to me ."

Another mother had a very bad experience in the hospital though she was a private patient of the head surgeon.

"I had very sharp pain in the labour—room. They put in me very early, they put in me at a quarter to eight and I had my baby David only at midnight. Why I had my labour they let me alone. There was a midwife nearby in another room, within earshot. I was very lonely..."

A mother complained of the contact with her baby:

"the babies were in another room. When I first went there I looked in through the window and I could see her. She was among the other children, she only kept looking. She was separated from me and it was very unpleasant..." And, at last, here is an interview from which one can see that sometimes leaving a hospital is not an easy task.(This mother also had her chosen obstetrician.)

"I had to wait for a long time till the released my baby. The procedure was very long. I think six babies were released that morning. Mothers arrived by 10, and it passed noon when we could have the babies. We kept waiting more than 2 hours, I had put on my cloth, the bed-clothes were exchanged so I could not go back. I could not sit, I kept walking and I was very tired..."

The interviewing is not finished yet, and we have heard many similar stories from many other sources.

Now we can turn back on further irrational elements of obstetrician choice. As we could see, mothers tried to diminish by money their defenselessness, but after birth and leaving the hospital they have realized they couldn't. Choosing an obstetrician or hospital does not involve a better treatment since in the whole country the birth is conducted unanimously according to the prescriptions that are in force. There is no real choice for expectant women. They are "medicalized" and the doctors pay no, or little attention on them and the babies and of their claim to facilitate and form the birth into

a really positive experience that is doubtless a particular, uncommon event of life.

On the contrary, the present practice, with its common perineal section, birth technology, the frightening atmosphere of labour-room embitter the mothers' life. It is enhanced by that tendency that they neglect the establishment of the early connection of parent - infant that would facilitate birth and following birth.

It is very common that obstetricians interfers with the natural process of birth, it is started and accelerated very often, and the perineal section is an everyday technology. (It has been prescribed in lecture notes in the cases of young mothers as obligatory that involves its necessity afterwards in most cases.) In the stage of expulsion the obstetrician often interferes physically.

There are only few places where attention is paid to diminishing the birth trauma of infants. In such hospitals, the navalstring is to be cut only several minutes after birth when the baby is being placed on his/her mother's abdomen. But nowhere is given attention to diminishing stimulus, the baby is tormented immediately with sucking of mucus instead of letting the normal sucking from breast.

To summarize the preliminary experiences of this fraction of project, one can state that until such relations are prevalent that urge obstetricians to interfere even if it is not necessary, all efforts are in vain aiming at popularize a more human version of birth.

The breaking through is hampered in any case because in Hungary the number of obstetricians is relatively high, and parallel with the decreasing number of birth less and less people call on them (6).

In the present situation it is expected that the number of risky pregnancies, as well as the length of time spent in hospital by reason of birth will increase.

REFERENCE NOTES:

1. Head of project: Agnes Losonczi. Participants: Katalin Hanak, Judit H. Sas, Maria Nemenyi, Eva Havasi and Laszlo Z. Antal.

2. The book compiled by preliminary project soon will be published under the title: Szüles, születes I. (Birth and Childbirth I.).

3. WH0 (1985) Having a Baby in Europe.

4. Janos Tiba: Szülesre felkeszites, szüles alatti pszichogen fajdalomcsillapitas klinikuma, kutatasa es szervezese (Kandidatusi ertekezes, 1988) (Preparation for birth, medical practice, research and organization of psychogeneous assuaging of pain during labour, Candidate's dissertation).

5. Klara Czenky: Szüles,szüleselökeszitesi alternativak in: Szüles, születes I. (1989) (Birth, alternative preparations for birth).

6. Laszlo Z. Antal: Demografiai valtozasok es az egeszsegügy reakcioja. . In: Szüles, születes I. (1989) (Demographic changes and the response of medical service).

Zsuzsa Gerö
Psychological Department of
Medical University, Budapest

ROLE CONFLICTS IN PROFESSIONAL FAMILIES

In child psychotherapy practice, we often meet children whose complaints can be regarded (to such an extent) as symptoms of the family and the question arises whether we should be dealing with the parents themselves instead of the child. If we examine these cases more closely, it usually appears that the child´s symptoms merely refer back to a developmental jolt (in Anna Freud´s understanding of the term), and that its condition is aggravated because of other conflicts in the family to such an extent that the parents are unable to solve the situation alone and see that some kind of assistance is needed. If advice on upbringing proves unhelpful, the possibility of family therapy arises. In my own practice, I do not usually give family therapy or couple therapy in the classical senses of the term, but if, while discussing problems of the child, we discover the root of the problems in the parents´own problems, we frequently redefine the terms of the consultation. In the subsequent sessions, therefore, we meet in order to deal with the conflicts of the parents, and their solution (to which) can, in an indirect way, help the symptoms of the child. After this, there occurs consultation with both parents together, or separately in parallel, perhaps with one of them for longer than with the other. From these possibilities, it is always the communication difficulties between the parents which will determine our choice. In these cases there is usually no therapy with the children.

From the history of families treated in this way, there often emerges a field of problems the key to which is found not only in the personality characteristics of the family members, or from the dynamics of family interactions. Economical and sociological factors, social traditions and prejudices, as well as the role expectations of the reference network of the family, can be identified as motives of conflict creation and motives for the maintenance of tensions. Therefore one can justly say that the material emerging in psychotherapies can also give insight into the characteristics of family structure of a given people or social group, in addition to sociology, social psychology and educational psychology research.

In this lecture I would like to deal with one problem from among the conflicts which emerge during the course of my work. This is the clash between the idea of socially declared, highly evaluated emancipation, and the feudal family structure ideal which is influential even now. In my experience the conflict originating from this, whether conscious or not, greatly influences the dynamics of family events, neuroticizes the relationship between the couple and confuses the parents in the upbringing

of the children. The paradoxes present in the process are most conspicuous in those professional families where the idea of emancipation constitutes an organic part of a systematic world-view, where the wife´s professional advance is part of the conscious life programme of both partners, and where, despite these intentions, feudal traditions keep emerging in interactions and in the whole way of life. In these cases the goal of the therapy is to reveal the unconscious, or semi-conscious motive acting against the declared intentions, and through the understanding of them, to try to retune the family´s functioning through the genuine integration of the declared norms. The typical and ambivalent views I would like to demonstrate with three case histories.

All three couples brought their children to the psychologist with minor complaints and in the first consultation the parents happened to mention that in the background of the complaints were their own unsolved conflicts. The consciously thought-over part of these concerned the division of labour at home, and the role conflicts behind these, showed typical correspondences, despite differences I would like to mention that in one family the two parents worked in the same field in the humanities, in the second that the two parents worked on different but equally demanding fields in the humanities; and in the third the husband was a lecturer in natural sciences and the wife was a teacher in a general school. In the three families there were one, two and three children respectively. In the first case the husband and wife took part in therapy simultaneously for a period of a few months; in the second after temporary joint work the wife a cooperation for years; and in the third case, after short and unsuccessful joint treatment, the husband underwent psychotherapy for years. In all three cases, the symptoms of the children disappeared after the first weeks or months of the work with the parents, without the children taking part in any treatment.

In the following I shall report briefly on the histories of the three therapies, pointing out the main elements which led to the above line of thinking.

The four year-old boy from family A was brought to the consulting room because of prolonged toilet-training problems and temper-tantrums. At this time the mother was at home on maternity leave with the two year-old younger child. Both parents were archaeologists, the wife nearly ten years younger than her husband and having earlier been her husband's student. The couple had been brought together by devoting to their work the husband had happily looked forward to the elder child -- his previous, shortlived marriage was childless. He had very much played his part in the many chores to do with child-care and yet, with the burdens of child upbringing, the marriage had deteriorated almost unnoticed. Mrs A felt that she had become lost in the washing of nappies, had strayed (irredeemably) from her work,

and that her husband regarded her as stupid, treated her like a child, and shared his intellectual interests with his friends and not with her. She had become lonely and depressed. Mr A, on the other hand, had come to realize with great alarm that, since his marriage and especially since the birth of the children, he could work less and less, and at the time when the processing of collected data had become necessary. He knew that the diminished time available to him was also connected with increasing professional and public activity from which he could not get away, yet he still blamed his wife who, in his opinion, was unable to direct the life of the family in an organized manner . When blaming her, he had -- despite his original intentions -- forgotten the professional endeavours of his wife or had belittled them. He would have seen his own progress at work guaranteed it his wife had become a traditional housewife . In connection with this, the example of his mother emerged -- who had served his father and him in everything. He had been able to become a talented child with diverse activities in a traditional family and he feared that this possibility his own son would miss. Mrs A saw the same thing, that her husband had been spoilt as a single child, that his abilities had been admired by everyone and that he had not needed to learn to adjust. She had also been an only child but in more difficult conditions. Her mother had kept her dependent and thus, in fact, she had been obliged to grow up within the marriage. As a student, she had respected her husband as an unconditional authority but now she felt a need for independent thinking. She saw the rigidity of her husband increasingly, and the fact that he very much feared the loss of his authority. If she did not meet his expectations in something -- be it a household matter or an opinion about a book -- he punished her with silent withdrawal. In these times the atmosphere had been cool for weeks and all intimacy and tenderness had gradually disappeared.

Mrs A thought that her son´s symptoms were also connected with her husband´s strictness. He demanded a composedness and discipline of an adult from the four year-old child who could not live up to such expectations, who in his disappointment and jealousy towards his sister, had staged furious scenes. I myself deduced that the bedwetting and bad sleeping constituted compensation for the child since at these times it was always his father who got up, went to him, and looked after him with full devotion, with the boy regressing to the level of a baby. Mr A was able to accept the statement about the child from both his wife and me, and studied his own behaviour with his customary moral strictness. In the temper tantrums of his son he saw the continuation of his own impulsiveness and impatience and improved his upbringing of him with persistent self-study. His effort was successful: the symptoms of the child gradually disappeared and his relationship with the child became spectacularly more spontaneous and liberated.

Mr A tried to improve his relationship with his wife through similarly persistent self-study and adjustment. He attempted to take into account his

wife´s process of becoming independent and her successes at work (she had, in the meantime, returned to work), and they tried to return to the old joint plans. The wife´s gradual becoming and adult was not possible without threatening the traditional authority of the husband, and (from the recurrent deadlock it) became obvious that a lasting change could only take place if Mr A could face, in a psychotherapeutic situation, his more deeply-rooted personal motives which made him unable to give up his rigidity and authority, and thereby establish an increasingly flexible communication. Mr A felt this unnecessary, and considered the adjustments, he was making on the basis of self-study, to be enough. Having put into effect the advice on upbringing as some kind of "homework", and contented with the partial results, he asked for the postponement of further treatment.

That the technical measures made in the interests of full emancipation are insufficient in the long run is demonstrated by the history of family B. Mrs B, the mother of three sons, came to see me because of the difficulties of the adjustment of the oldest son who had just started school. During the first meeting it because obvious that the behaviour of the son who frequently and strongly defended his rights was an average form of behaviour and that really the support was needed by the wife, who felt that she was left alone in the upbringing of the children and in the organization of the life of the whole family. She thought that her husband, an able natural scientist, withdrew to his books and that, although he stayed at home a lot and even spent much time with the children (and effectively, too), (he was not to be relied on and that the wife could not share her problems with him. In the last years a cruel game had become established with him. The husband hardly answered the wife´s questions or requests for advice, but on the other hand, commented on her activities with sarcastic intent. The wife tried to make her husband talk by means of unexpected outbursts and insults. As these scenes became apparent to me in the joint discussions later, it was as though I was seeing fighting persons standing on the two sides of a battlement. At the same time there were still many things keeping the couple together. Both loved sports and walks in the forest (the wife was a physical exercise and biology teacher). They also had similar views in judging others and on the upbringing of the children. Their lifestyles, however, were very different, the wife with her natural spontaneous reactions, found her husband´s reserved and attentive behaviour hypocritical.

When they came together as students, Mrs B saw her husband as an unconditional authority, identified with all his plans, and relied strongly on him, in the start to her career. As she gradually became an adult, she realized that her husband could not step out of the role of a teacher. It was at this time that the behaviour and intellect of her husband began to oppress her. She felt herself to be increasingly stupid beside him,

increasingly rebelled against her situation as she saw it, and fought to become intellectually independent. The roots of the process were understood jointly during the therapy. The wife admired the abilities of her father in a similar way, and accepted his authority even at the time of the therapy. She had felt herself to be stupid beside her older brother and sister throughout her childhood, and, in her view, her natural spontaneity was often disapproved of in the family. Even at the time of the therapy she could hardly believe that just because of her competent and impartial judgments she had become a good teacher.

Mr B, on the other side of the battlement, was an overpoweringly bright man who was stubbornly persistent in his lifestyle, (kept outside the "rat race",) and was, for all this, a rather lonely man. Without daring to confess this to himself, he disapproved of the way of life of his parents and siblings, yet in the spirit of family hypocrisy, he always obeyed his father´s wishes. After his rigidly traditional family, his wife meant new air for him, and even at the time of the therapy, they were in many ways rebellious adolescents holding each other´s hands. Yet all this did not give him the possibility for liberation he needed in order to express his feelings. He was alone in his work and thoughts and could not express his need for tenderness. He saw that his wife had good relationships with people, but often disapproved of her and did not see her as being firm in her principles. He noted with satisfaction that his wife was very much liked by her pupils yet could not really accept that inner effort and concentration lies at the base of a good teacher´s work.

Mrs B´s unconditional admiration for her husband had turned into sarcastic criticism. As a result, Mr B had lost the bastion of authority behind which he did the sensitive world which he could not express. Both having been left unprotected, the killing game started between them. In this hopeless situation both often considered divorce. Primarily it was Mr B who was unable to handle this thought, as his genuine strict religiousness excluded this possibility. I myself thought that, despite the severe conflict between them, there were basic ties in addition to the children. Both had non-stereotyped views of the world, and in their views, which differed from those of people generally, they were in agreement.

In the hope of a settlement, couple therapy was started. After some fleeting successes the therapy stopped. Although the murderous conflicts had been quieted, Mr B did not dare to assume genuine openness and relaxedness, and they escaped from tenderness, with the awkwardness of adolescents. In line with their alarm and in order to avoid the game which was to conceal it, the therapy continued in parallel, with the two members of the couple. As a result of this, Mr B started to taste the possibility of self-expression and the articulation of emotions. At the same time a defence began; he felt, that the refinement of these, he could achieve more successfully through work by

himself. His wife, however, continued the therapy for more than two years; she tried to accept herself as she was and the maturity and security, she gained in the process, led to more tenderness and understanding in the marriage. On e could justly say that through the wife´s therapy the partner therapy continued. As a result, it became obvious that the maintenance of the marriage was equally important for the two of them, and they continuously looked for possibilities to improve it. Mrs B had gained an increasing understanding of the motives behind her need for dependency which had led to a pathological relationship, recognized her own real values, and as a consequence of her becoming more independent, attempted to help the enclosedness of her husband through mature, understanding, attention. Thus, the danger became less acute that the feudal tradition would again become the means to defend against emotions. The struggle of couple B to renew their relationship (was still fraught with difficulty but) was more promising than earlier.

In the third case I shall report, it is clearest that how a feudal schemata can be incorporated as a defence manoeuvre which maintains pathological mechanisms. Couple C came to see me after Mrs C had just been hospitalized in a psychiatric ward for a bad state diagnosed as a schizophrenic episode. Mr C came alone the first time, on behalf of his wife also, and it transpired that he had been taking part in a training group for laymen since the wife´s previous psychiatric illness, in order to become able to give her more expert support. Their five year-old son had no complaints; in order to guarantee healthy development and the supervision of upbringing, they wished to make use of the child psychologist. In the first discussion it was conspicuous how strong the husband´s repressed aggression was behind a mild exterior, when he requested assistance and showed a willingness to help. He told that his wife needed hospital treatment for the third time now, and that this treatment had been repeated yearly. She had became increasingly manic and confused, and at this time she was busy, in thought, with her own career and the improvement of their way of life (i.e. moving into a better flat). She could hardly sleep, neglected the household and her child and could be taken very hardly to the doctor (only by means of physical coercion). The husband took the view that he was obliged to look after the household and the child in the period following the hospitalizations also; for example since his wife ad started to work in a publishing-house, she had been busy only with her work. In his complaints, it was conspicuous how much detail and with which impulses he described the neglectedness of the flat, and that the wife left everything all over the place. All this raised the suspicion in me, that his report contained many exaggerations.- In talking with Mrs C, I did not get the impression that she was psychotic -- she complained about her panic-striken state, about the aggression and compulsive habits of her husband, and the fact that she very much needed help.

We had a few joint discussions in order to clarify the obvious marital conflict and possibly to settle it. In these discussions, the social difference between them emerged. They had got married after they had got to know each other at the university: when the husband started to work as a museologist in the countryside and while, the wife was still a student. Mr C´s father had been a manual labourer, his brothers and sisters remained in a village environment. Mrs C was the only daughter of a well-to-do businessman in Budapest, according to the husband´s view, she had been brought up in an over-protected way. On the pretext of the wife´s immaturity and dependence, the organization of their joint life could be effected only through what the husband had in mind. While the wife was on maternity leave and was completed her studies, she tolerated this state of affairs, but when they moved up to Budapest and she found a job, she gradually became independent. The tension which increased during this time the husband explained through the bad influences of her petit-bourgeois parents, and through the negligent household management of the so called "lady wife". He proclaimed that without his direction, their whole way of life and the upbringing of the child would have ended in disaster. When in the whirlpool of the interactions of the "negligence and raising guilt", the ground had opened up beneath the feet of the wife, and her husband, with his anxious care, had almost pushed her towards the mental ward. While during the discussions this picture had come together for me, Mr C had become increasingly withdrawn, and rigidly repeated his complaints about his wife. There was no real problem-solving interaction between the couple. I thought that the husband´s compulsive character was a maintaining factor in the wife´s illness that without Mr C´s psychotherapy there could be no hope of any kind of resolution of the problem. On the pretext that Mrs C had been under psychiatric supervision, I proposed that Mr C begin psychotherapy to solve his own conflicts. After long manoeuvring, the therapy began. At the beginning, occasional parallel discussions were carried on with the wife also, but since the direct solution of the marital conflict seemed hopeless, and since the wife had been in a good state for a long time already, I gave up this element of the therapy. On some occasions, due to Mr C´s express wish I met the wife -- when the husband again saw the danger of a psychosis. His worries were always unjustified, and during the four years that have now passed, there has been no relapse. Looking back, I think that Mr C´s pathology drove the wife into psychotic episodes, and since the husband has undergone psychotherapy, and his character has softened, family tension has been within tolerable limits.

During Mr C´s psychotherapy, compulsive neurotic symptomatology which was rather difficult to treat emerged. I will not go into details concerning the course of the therapy in this study, but will content myself with pointing out some important elements which are relevant to the topic. Mr C´s childhood was determined by the unstable state of hi mother´s nerves which, looking back, he saw as psychotic. Between his father and mother,

social tension was present similar to, that existing between him and his wife. His becoming a professional man doomed him to a permanent double consciousness with regard to his own family. These ambivalence he could only compensate by constantly reinforcing his own views. His dissatisfaction with, and criticism of, his mother had become transponed to his wife. The complaints to do with the "lady wife" in fact expressed the resentment that his wife did not fulfil the traditionally subordinated role of the wife. Instead of articulating the judgment of a feudal world-view, he imposed on his wife the role of an ill person. Mr C´s therapy has gone beyond the framework of a child consultation or couple therapy. But as a result of the husband´s therapy, the wife was liberated from the tensions that had driven her into illness, and could gain strength to such an extent that she could handle the upbringing of the child with sufficient autonomy, facilitating the establishment of a good father-child relationship and at the same time compensating for the unwanted effects of Mr C´s pathology. Mr C, although his conscious emotions concerning his wife have not changed, due to gradual rearrangement and "taming", can evade the destructive impulsive whirlpools which emerged regularly earlier on, and which threatened both him and his wife.

Finally, I would like to point out the common elements of the dynamics of the three cases, in spite of their pronounced differences. Mr A gets into an ever-increasing conflict under the double loading of a scientific career and the genuinely hard tasks imposed by family life. Mr B´s similar conflict is aggravated by the fact that his withdrawal and need for intimacy, are in an unsolved contradiction in a neurotic way. In Mr C´s case, this conflict has been made worse by a sociologically determined "class antagonism" and by a compulsive neurotic character which had become established as a result of his personal history.

In all three cases the means of defence against this tension is the social tradition which in spite of conscious convictions, exerts its effects unconsciously. In this social tradition, the man´s dominance in the family is neutral, the woman has to give up her own life programme for the sake of a harmonious family life and the upbringing of the children. The traditional view is manifested through transfers: Mr C did not think that his wife´s professional ambitions were serious enough; Mr B judged his wife´s suitability as a teacher to be unsatisfactory due to the strength of moral behaviour he desired, and Mr C articulated the unsuitability of his wife in being anxious about her illness. The emergence of this traditional view as a part of a defence strategy was promoted by the fact that the need for security on the part of the women in the partnership also unconsciously easily joined with the feudal tradition (Mrs A was a student of her husband; Mrs B respected her father in her husband; and Mrs C continued the role of an only daughter.) In all these cases, therefore, in the rising stage of the relationship, the deeper strivings which contradicted the conviction of

emancipation could be kept hidden. But in the vicissitudes of life, the conflict between the deeper and superficial intentions, became more intense and conscious, which, in the case of the men, emerged as a justification change of views, and in the case of the women, in bitten strivings to become independent. Due to conscious convictions, the liberal upbringing of the children was not distorted by the feudal tradition. (However, in the families with adolescents this would have been different). Thanks to psychotherapy, the bad circle which was established between the partners could be broken, and the process of bringing things to consciousness afforded an opportunity, if not for complete re-organization, then for the survival of the marriage and for the relatively relaxed upbringing of the children.

Central Union for Child Welfare in Finland

is a nation-wide cooperation body that works for the benefit of children, young people and families with children. It was founded in 1937 as an umbrella organization to coordinate the field of child welfare. The first child welfare legislation had come into force one year earlier and there was a vast need for child welfare.

Organization

Today forty-five municipalities and eighty-two organizations are members of the Central Union. The Union has a long tradition of publishing text books and professional literature for people working in child welfare. Training sessions are organized regularly. Every other year the Union organizes a national child welfare congress.

The Union conducts research and investigations to provide background and support for planning and decision-making in matters of family and child policy in Finland.

The task of the Central Union is to strengthen the cooperation between its member organizations and to improve their links to state authorities in child welfare issues. Cooperation is mainly carried out in joint committees. These include Children's Accidents Committee, Consultative Committee on Residential Care, Cooperation Committee for Early Childhood Education, Cooperation Committee for Parent's Associations of Disabled Children and Children with Long-term Illnesses and Working Group on the Prevention of Child Abuse, among others.

ITLA

Activities

The Central Union for Child Welfare also functions as an advocacy organization. Its main task is to speak for child welfare and look after the interests of families with children in planning and legislative work.

The Union issues statements on draft laws, memoranda and plans still at the preparation stage. It makes initiatives and presents its views in matters concerning child welfare and child and family policy.

The Union maintains a specialized library and information service and publishes monthly the professional journal Lapsen Maailma (Child's World).

The Central Union and the Ministry for Health and Social Affairs founded a National Children's Fund for Research and Development (ITLA) to honour the 70th Anniversary of Finland's Independence in 1987. ITLA Fund gives support to projects for the development of child welfare and protection of children.

The Fund gave grants to six research groups for the years 1989-1991. These research projects deal with the development of children's growing environment, living conditions and also with the role of the family. ITLA organizes seminars for reaearchers and offers regular training for the group selected.

INTERNATIONAL FORUM FOR CHILD WELFARE

International Cooperation

International cooperation has been one of the tasks of the Central Union for Child Welfare since its establishment. The Union follows closely international developments in child welfare, reports on events world wide and brings Finnish child welfare to the notice of other countries.

The Central Union is an active member in the International Federation of Educative Communities (FICE) and World Organization for Early Childhood Education (OMEP). It is also a founding member of a new cooperation network for child welfare organizations: the International Forum for Child Welfare (IFCW). Work for the promotion of children's rights in the world and information on the new UN Convention on the Rights of the Child form an important part of international work. The Union also supports the world-wide children's rights organization Defence for Children International (DCI).

Nordic cooperation is lively in issues dealing with child abuse and accidents to children. Current child welfare trends, and problems shared by all Nordic countries, are discussed in the Nordic Child Welfare Congress held every three years in each of the countries in turn. Arrangements in Finland are the responsibility of the Central Union.

The Universal Children's Day is celebrated on the first Monday in October together with the Finnish UNICEF -Committee.

DCI
DEI
DNI

Contact information:
Central Union for Child Welfare in Finland
Arnfeltintie 1, SF-00100 Helsinki, Finland
Tel. [358-0] 625 901, Fax: [358-0] 627 990.
Executive Director: Mr. Mauri Upanne
International Officer: Ms. Sirpa Utriainen